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NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTIONS
OF
THE REV. GEORGE TOWNSEND
TO THE NEW EDITION OF
FOX'S MARTYROLOGY.

BY THE REV. S. R. MAITLAND.

PART II.

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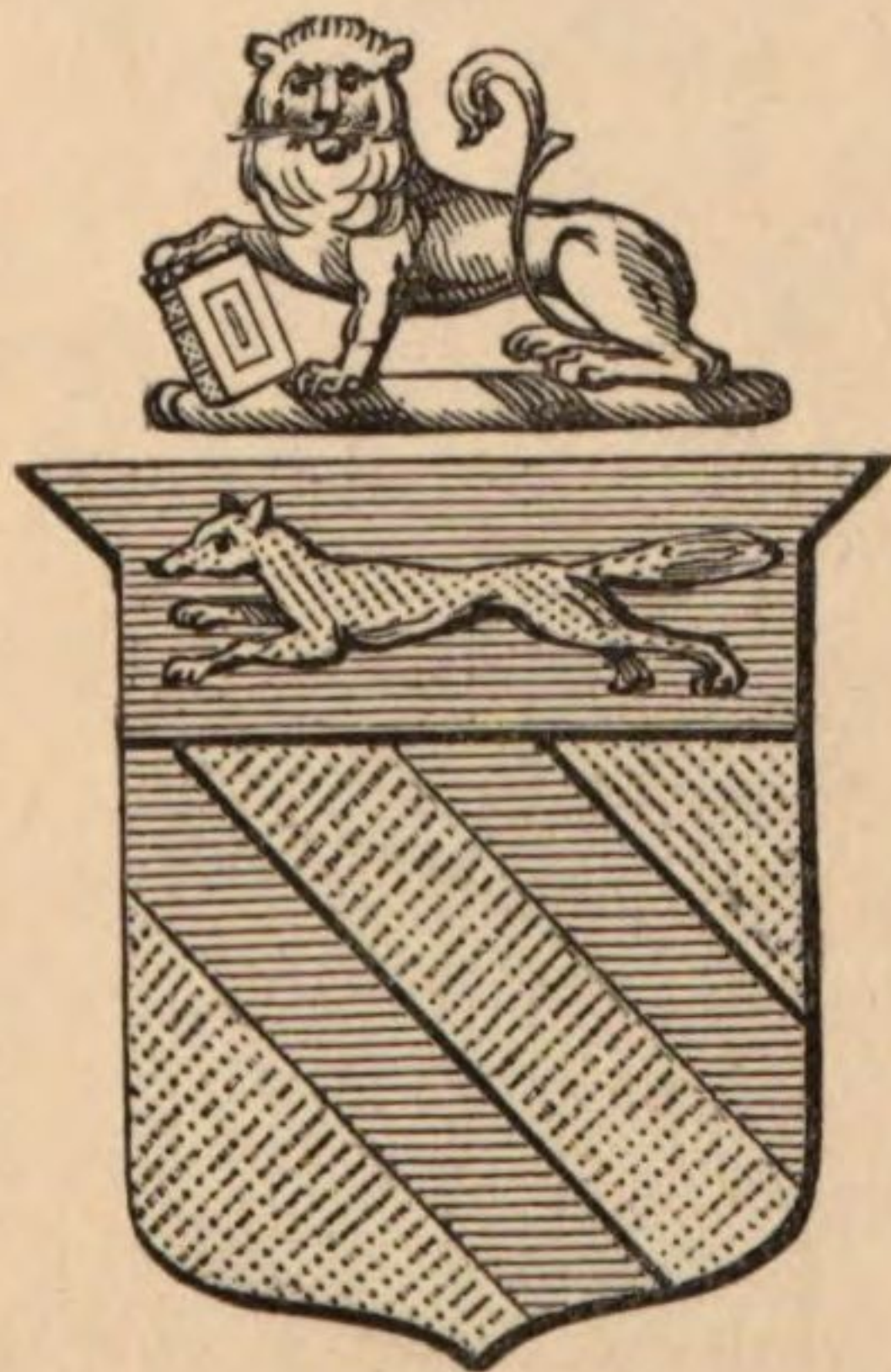
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NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTIONS
OF
THE REV. GEORGE TOWNSEND, M.A.
CANON OF DURHAM, &c.
TO THE NEW EDITION OF
FOX'S MARTYROLOGY:

BY THE
REV. S. R. MAITLAND,
LIBRARIAN TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

PART II.
PURITAN THAUMATURGY:
WITH A REPLY TO MR. TOWNSEND'S "REMARKS" ON PART I., &c.



LONDON:
PRINTED FOR J. G. F. & J. RIVINGTON,
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1842.

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NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTIONS

THE REV. GEORGE TOWNSEND, M.A.

TO THE NEW EDITION OF

FOX'S MARTYROLOGY

BY

REV. S. R. WALLACE

WITH A HISTORY OF THE PERSECUTIONS IN ENGLAND

PART II.

LONDON :

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REPLY,

&c.

I FULLY intended to have proceeded in this second part to another point connected with Mr. Townsend's Contributions, and merely to have prefixed a brief reply to his "Remarks," supposing them not to have been recalled, as I really did expect that they would have been, before I could conveniently get out another number. Instead of this, however, Mr. Townsend has shown himself not merely self-complacent, but triumphant; and has boasted in a newspaper of having given me "a castigation." It seems necessary, therefore, to make rather a fuller reply to his pamphlet than it would otherwise require; and I postpone the subject to which I meant to have devoted this number in favour of one, which while it may be treated more briefly, and with less trouble, is at the same time well worthy of investigation in itself, and more immediately connected with the matters con-

tained in Mr. Townsend's Remarks. The reader probably does not care to be minutely informed how this change of plan, other necessary occupations, the delay occasioned by my not being able to procure a book which I wanted for the purpose, and an absence from England of longer duration than I had anticipated, have delayed this publication longer than I wished and expected; and will, I think, perceive that I take the shortest and clearest mode of proceeding, by giving, without any further preface, three extracts from the John Bull newspaper.

No. I.

FROM THE JOHN BULL OF 29 JAN., 1842.

"WE have great pleasure in giving insertion to the following letter, and freely acknowledge that when we wrote there was a confusion in our mind between Mr. TOWNSEND and another author. We do not think of old Foxe so highly as Mr. TOWNSEND does; but we readily accept and print his communication:—

TO JOHN BULL.

College, Durham, Jan. 24, 1842.

SIR,—I have just read with much pleasure your account of Lambeth Palace, in your paper of Saturday last, the 22d.

Towards the conclusion of the second column you speak of one of the ornaments of the Palace in this manner,—I must quote your own words:—‘Here’ (that is, in the Library at Lambeth) ‘day after day, making ample use of the stores of knowledge which they’ (the books) ‘contain, may be seen His Grace’s head librarian, and Mr. TOWNSEND’s merciless persecutor, the Rev. Mr. MAITLAND. Excellent Mr. TOWNSEND had far better stuck to his romances about the Waldenses, and left *Foxe’s Martyro-*

logy alone. He is no match for his well-read antagonist; and in his defence of the old Puritan, acts but a sorry figure when opposed to him.'

Will you oblige me by accepting the enclosed pamphlet, which is, I believe, only this day published in London, and which you could not therefore have seen when you wrote the above paragraph. The only attack Mr. MAITLAND has ever made upon me is contained in a brochure of thirty-one pages. It is entitled, *Notes on the Contributions of Mr. Townsend to the New Editions of Foxe's Martyrology*. To that brochure the pamphlet I send you is a reply; and if the exposure, which I have therein made, of Mr. MAITLAND's false reasoning, dishonest omissions, singular ignorance, and ungentlemanly imputations of unworthy motives, constitute a castigation, I should be much delighted if you would increase my knowledge, by informing me what other writer ever received a more just or more deserved punishment than I have inflicted on Mr. MAITLAND. Whether you will still affirm that I am no match for my 'merciless persecutor,' or that 'I cut a sorry figure when opposed to my well-read antagonist,' after you have read my pages—if indeed you will read them—I cannot say. I am sure that Mr. MAITLAND cannot answer me.

I cannot imagine what you mean when you speak of my 'romances about the Waldenses.' I have written nothing about the Waldenses, but a few paragraphs respecting the origin of the name, which you have evidently not read. You have mistaken me for some other person.

With respect to my defence of the venerable Martyrologist, whom you call the 'old Puritan,' I shall continue to think with the Fathers of the Church of England, that JOHN FOXE deserves the love and respect of his countrymen. Very pleasant is the situation in which I am placed. Mr. MAITLAND and his coadjutors are abusing me as a Low Churchman, because I honour, value, and defend the character and labours of JOHN FOXE. The editor of the *Record* and his correspondents are abusing me as a High Churchman, because I honour, value, and defend the Apostolical succession. So let it be. I shall persevere in the labours,

which it has pleased God, in many instances, to render useful ; and I am convinced that neither Mr. MAITLAND, nor the editor of the *Record*, nor any other assailant, can lower me in the estimation of those whose good opinions I may either value or desire.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your faithful servant,

GEO. TOWNSEND, Canon of Durham."

No. II.

FROM THE JOHN BULL OF FEBRUARY 5, 1842.

"UPON our established principle of *Audi alteram partem*, we give a place to the following :—

TO JOHN BULL.

SIR,—I did not see Mr. TOWNSEND's letter in your Paper of Saturday until this (Wednesday) evening, or I should have earlier asked your leave to offer a word or two of caution to some of your readers. Those who are not acquainted with his singular manner of speaking of himself and his performances, may be led to imagine that he has done something very wonderful, where in fact (as I hope to show more fully elsewhere) he has been exposing his rash and presumptuous ignorance.

Of the ten errors alleged by Mr. TOWNSEND in the pamphlet which he has sent to you, I believe that not one is real ; and that, with regard to nearly all, this will be obvious to any one who takes the trouble to compare what I really wrote with what Mr. TOWNSEND has offered as a reply. I, therefore, enclose you the 'brochure of 31 pages.'

But two of those errors can only be answered by reference to books which you and the greater part of your readers cannot be expected to have at hand. Will you allow me to say a few words of them, which may illustrate the nature of Mr. TOWNSEND's broad assertions generally ?

No. 6 (on p. 11) stands thus (the italics being Mr. TOWNSEND'S):—

'Mr. Maitland's sixth error is, *that he endeavours to prove the*

spuriousness of the Memoir by a mistake, as he calls it, of the author not knowing that one of Foxe's books, entitled, 'De lapsis in ecclesiam recipiendis,' referred, not to those who had fallen into error, but into adultery: and that this tract is the same as that entitled, 'De non morte plectendis, &c.' To all this I answer—that Tanner, in his Bibliotheca, gives the titles of the two tracts, or books, the dates of their publication, and the beginning of the first line of each, and these prove they are not one and the same book, as Mr. Maitland surmises. There is not one paragraph in the first, which applies to the second of these tracts or publications. Mr. Maitland should have consulted Tanner.'

Allow me to assure you, Mr. Editor, that I should not have written as I did, if I had not collated what Mr. TOWNSEND calls 'the two tracts,' and found them to be one and the same. Bishop TANNER is mistaken; and the adoption of his mistake by a biographer who has written so leisurely is very discreditable. I have no proof to offer but the book itself in its twofold form, which is now on my table, and which I shall be happy to show to you, or to any bookseller whom you may name as a competent judge in such a question.

Secondly, as it regards the 9th error. I expressed my belief that there was no Sir *Thomas* Lucy, and no Warwickshire Knight at all named Lucy, for twenty years before or after the year 1545. It is not worth while to enter into the details of Mr. TOWNSEND's answer, though they require notice, and I hope to give it elsewhere; but the fact is, that the whole of it is written under the misconception that there was an hereditary title in the family. This leads him to make a Sir William Lucy, and to tell us that Sir *Thomas* the younger 'succeeded' him in 1550. The truth is, however, that, as he justly observes, 'one Sir Thomas Lucy died in 1525,' which was twenty years *before* 1545, and his grandson was knighted, some forty years after his death, in the *seventh* year of Elizabeth, which began 17th Nov., 1564, and ended 17th Nov., 1565, which cannot be far (it may be a fraction more or less according to the day when Sir Thomas was knighted) from twenty years *after* the year 1545. Young Sir Thomas was no more

knighted because he was the grandson of old Sir Thomas, than because he was the son of *William Lucy, Esquire*. Mr. TOWNSEND says that he considers my speaking of his note on this subject in his *Life of Fox* (p. 60) as having 'a show of research,' to be 'impertinent.' He will, perhaps, think me more impertinent if I tell him that the show of research in that unlucky note is the proof and the record of his ignorance. He actually (and very correctly) calls the same person '*Thom. Lucy Arm.*' in 1562, and '*Thom. Lucy Miles*' in 1577; and yet, as if he was ignorant of any difference in the meaning of the words, he tells us that the *Armiger* of 1562 'became *Sir Thomas*' in 1550.

Perhaps those who consider these two points may suspect that I have something to say on the other eight.

I am really unwilling to trespass on your space, but I must beg you to let me ask one question. Mr. TOWNSEND says (I believe very truly), 'The only attack Mr. MAITLAND has ever made upon me, is contained in a brochure of 31 pages.' That brochure I enclose. I have no right to ask you to read it; but I send it that, if you should think fit, you may form your own opinion as to my right to call on Mr. TOWNSEND to say what he means by afterwards saying, 'Mr. MAITLAND and his coadjutors are abusing me as a Low Churchman.'

I do call on Mr. TOWNSEND—whether in your Journal must, of course, depend on your permission—publicly to state where and how I have abused him as a Low Churchman, and to name the persons whom he calls my 'coadjutors.'

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

S. R. MAITLAND."

No. III.

FROM THE JOHN BULL OF FEB. 12, 1842.

"*College, Durham, Jan. [read Feb.] 7, 1842.*

SIR,—Will you oblige me by permitting me to comply with Mr. MAITLAND's request, that I would notice his letter of the last week in your Journal.

Four things in that letter demand attention. I will devote but one sentence to each.

1st. Mr. MAITLAND affirms that Bishop TANNER, in his *Bibliotheca*, was wrong, and that the tracts by JOHN FOXE, which the Bishop believes to have been two, were but one publication.

I answer that Mr. MAITLAND is right, and that Bishop TANNER has misled me. I relied upon his authority, which has hitherto been undisputed. Mr. MAITLAND triumphs.

2. I am accused of supposing that the title of Knight was hereditary.

I have made no such supposition. But was it not usual to call the heads of knightly, or honourable, or large-landed families by that title?—whether they were actually created Knights or not. We call the sons of certain Peers—Lords. They are in law, mere commoners.

3. Mr. MAITLAND asks, where he has called me a 'Low Churchman?'

Nowhere, in those very words, I answer. But constantly by implication; as the defender of JOHN FOXE, the Martyrologist, whom he is pleased, most unjustly, to stigmatise as a Presbyterian.

4. Mr. MAITLAND calls upon me to name the persons whom I call his coadjutors.

What can he mean? How is it possible that I can name even that one of his anonymous coadjutors, who compelled me to begin this correspondence, by informing your readers, in his account of Lambeth Palace, of Mr. MAITLAND's mercilessness and great excellences; and of my inability to contend with him.

May I add but one remark. Mr. MAITLAND informs your readers, that I have a singular manner of speaking of myself and my performances.

I conclude from this expression, that he believes I have spoken foolishly and vainly. If this is his meaning, I trust that his accusation will not be deemed just. I desire to persevere in some labours which may be useful, and I could not have this hope, if I had not some confidence that my efforts may not be

finally deemed valueless: but I hope I desire to place myself no higher than even Mr. MAITLAND himself would elevate me, and that is certainly at the lowest point among my contemporaries.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your faithful servant,

GEO. TOWNSEND.

[We trust that this correspondence will be allowed to drop here.—*Editor.*] ”

Of course I bowed to the decision of the Editor; for though I might have fairly remarked on some points in Mr. Townsend's letters, which I hope to notice in this pamphlet, yet I had every reason to be content that, even in his own way, and with the very droll attempt at evasion about the title of Sir William Lucy, Mr. Townsend had confessed that his charge against me was false, his title-page a vain boast, and the “errors” were his own.

To come, therefore, to the “Remarks”—Mr. Townsend says in the introduction that I lay down this proposition—“that the Memoir is legendary—but that Mr. Townsend adopts and treats the Memoir as genuine and authentic. His inference is, that the Life I have written is of no value.”

I made no such inference. My words are, “the question is simply whether the Memoir of Fox is genuine and authentic, and to be received as an authority. *How far* the value of Mr. Townsend's life of Fox depends on the decision of this question will be obvious to all who read it.” Of course Mr. Townsend's readers cannot help seeing from his numerous quotations and references, *how far* the

Memoir has been used as an authority by him, and *so far*, if that Memoir turns out to be of no authority, the value of the Life will be diminished. There is a great deal in the Life that rests wholly on the Memoir, and must stand or fall with it; a great deal also that has obviously nothing to do with the Memoir, and cannot be affected by anything that may happen to it.

Mr. Townsend proceeds to point out what he calls ten errors; and I will notice them in their order.

1. The first error is little, if anything more than a repetition of what I have already noticed. It is my supposing that Mr. Townsend had treated the Memoir as genuine and authentic.

I answer that, so far as I can judge by what he wrote, *he did so*. I see nothing which should lead me to believe, and in fact I do not believe, that he had *any idea of treating it otherwise* when he wrote the life, or until the publication of my pamphlet. I know that, in one place he was forced to say, "It is impossible to reconcile the discrepancies in this Memoir of Foxe with the facts of his life." Then, of course, would have been the time to express his suspicions if he had had any. A man may say that it is impossible to reconcile certain statements in Eadmer's life of Anselm with the facts (that is, with what, from other sources of information, he supposes to be the facts) of that prelate's life, without in the least degree implying that he doubts the genuineness and authenticity of the work. Mr. Townsend might

do, and it seems to me that he did, the same with regard to Fox. He always, as far as I know, quoted it without a hint of suspicion that it was anything but a document of the highest authority, a genuine work, written in perfectly good faith, by the son of the Martyrologist. Those who look at Mr. Townsend's own language in the Life (or even only at the extract from it which I gave in the first part of these notes) will I think acquit me of all error on this point.

2. The "second error is, that because Mr. Townsend has depended upon the Memoir, his labours are useless." He adds, "I answer that his premises are unfounded: and therefore his inference is false."

This is much the same thing over again. I have already said that I made no such inference: but when he says the "premises are unfounded," I must ask, whether Mr. Townsend means to deny that, for much which he has given as undisputed truth, he "depended upon the Memoir," and the Memoir only, without pretending to have any other authority? I do not know what other interpretation can be put on his words; but surely he cannot mean this. Will he have the courage to say plainly what he does mean?

3. As to the grant of arms. We are often furnished with some criterion of a man's own knowledge by the credit which he gives to others for ignorance. If a writer is earnest and elaborate in explaining and enforcing the truth, that two and two make four, we may conjecture that his own arithmetical progression

has not very long, or very far, passed that point. In this light the prattle which Mr. Townsend has published about the Foxs whom he has discovered, while he does not seem ever to have heard of two well-known John Foxs, who were actual contemporaries of the Martyrologist, is very amusing. It requires no answer; but before I proceed to speak of the grant of arms I would offer one remark.

Mr. Townsend says (p. 21), "he alludes to the many years I have been engaged to write the life of Foxe. Does he really believe that I devoted the whole interval between my promise and its performance, to this lucubration; and that I had nothing else to do?" Mr. Townsend is not so happy as always to have such very silly things said of him as he pretends. I said that it seemed to me very remarkable "that one who had been so many years *engaged to write* the life of Fox" should have made such a mistake as to treat the absurd Memoir (I have not yet noticed all the absurdities in which it is implicitly followed by Mr. Townsend) as genuine and authentic. I am as far as possible from believing that Mr. Townsend "employed the whole interval" about the business, or any thing like so much of it as he was bound in honour and conscience, and by his engagement to the publishers and subscribers, to have done. Nothing but his having failed to do this could account for the superficial or erroneous manner in which he treats so many points connected with the subject; and for the gross ignorance which he

has displayed even respecting Fox's printed works. But without charging him with any thing like this devotion to the matter, or imagining that he worked hard every day, or one day in a month, for five years, even in writing a biography so important as he appears to have considered that in which he was engaged, I should have expected that, with the subject in his mind during all those years, he would have been from time to time, and almost without effort, collecting information, such as he evidently wants.

To come however to the grant of arms—Mr. Townsend says that in the document “we find nothing—no, nothing whatever—which can identify the John Foxe to whom the arms were granted with the Martyrologist.” He afterwards adds that it was made “in terms which could be *applicable to any person* of the name of Foxe.” Such an assertion respecting a document which people have before them is enough to make one stare. Has Mr. Townsend read it? or does he suppose that nobody else has? Let us briefly consider the things predicated in the grant respecting John Fox the grantee, and consider their general applicability to all possible John Foxs.

First, Mr. Townsend says that the arms were granted “without one allusion in that grant to the only reason for which the heraldic honour could be conferred.” I ask again, Can Mr. Townsend have read it? Does it not say that the grant was made

"on account of his eminent deserts in regard of the state, on account of his singular patriotism, on account of his eminent services to Elizabeth the most serene Queen of England, both at home and abroad, his virtue and his piety¹?" Whether the grantee was in fact the Martyrologist or not, I think there are some things said here which would not have been "applicable" to all possible John Foxes, while they appear to point out very fairly what really were the Martyrologist's claims (if he had any) to such secular distinction from the Crown. That he was a staunch and zealous Elizabethan is beyond all doubt; and it is almost as certain that he, as well as the other exiles, had the means of advancing the Queen's interests, both while he was abroad and after his return. There may, to be sure, have been another John Fox (a close fellow, I warrant, who did his work so privily that we have never heard of him), who was of more service to Elizabeth and her government than the person whom she is said to have called "Father Fox."

Secondly, John Fox the grantee is said to have been "an ornament of his country" (*patriæ ornamentum*). This may be true of any honest yeoman, but I doubt whether heralds always put it in as a matter of course; and whether it would be "applicable to any person of the name of Foxe."

¹ Ob insignia in remp. merita, ob studium in patriam singulare, ob egregiam Divæ Elizabethæ Angliæ reginæ serenissimæ domi forisque navatam operam, virtutis, ac pietatis, &c.

Thirdly, John Fox the grantee was "a pillar of the Church" (*ecclesiæ columen*). This seems to me to narrow the application to those John Foxs who were ecclesiastics.

Fourthly, He was "beloved by the muses and cherished by the graces" (*quem amarunt musæ, charites coluerunt*). This narrows the matter still more, if I am right in supposing it to mean that the grantee was a poet. Surely the heralds do not say this of every clergyman who gets a coat of arms.

Fifthly, As Mr. Townsend suggests no doubt about the date mentioned in the document, I suppose we must narrow the question still more by requiring this ecclesiastical favourite of the Muses, Graces, and Queen Elizabeth, to have been born in 1516; which some persons of the name of Fox certainly were not.

Sixthly, "Princes honoured him, all good men fostered him, and even malice and envy were constrained to respect him" (*principes honestarunt, boni omnes foverunt, ipse livor invidiaque suspexerunt*). Surely after all allowance for heraldic compliment the Rev. John Fox who was born in 1516 must have done something to gain credit with princes, love from good men, and both envy and respect from bad men, which we can hardly suppose, as a matter of course, to have been done by all possible John Foxs.

Seventhly, The grantee was a person whose writings, and whose own sayings and doings com-

mitted to writing, might form a sufficient "monument" to posterity (*scripta ejus dictaque ac facta mandata literis monumento posteris esse possint*). This, even if we do not suppose a verbal allusion to the "Acts and Monuments," is certainly not to be assumed of all other possible John Foxs, or perhaps of any, until some such writings are produced.

Eighthly, These writings of his, and his recorded sayings and doings, were to prove a point respecting the grantee, to which I beg the reader's particular attention, and which the heralds would certainly not think of predicating respecting every John Fox who might come in their way. They were to prove that the grantee could not but have been a person divinely inspired, the subject of a divine afflatus. That there were some who believed this of the martyrologist is highly probable; and this I hope to show more fully in the course of this pamphlet. In the mean time I will just point out the remarkable similarity between the language of this *Grant* and that of the *Memoir*, and I think it can hardly be doubted that one was taken from the other, or both derived from a common source. The former says, "*scripta ejus dictaque ac facta mandata literis, monumento posteris esse possint, nunquam ejuscemodi virum sine afflatu divino extitisse.*" The latter, referring to his prophecy, says, "*Quo facto id illi contigit, quod in tali re contingere necesse fuit, ut qui animum ejus sic penitus defixum in Deo contuebantur, multaque eum et facere et loqui quæ communis probitatis opinionem*

egrederentur, non illum afflatus divini expertem esse crederent."

Let some other John Fox then be brought forward, and make out a better claim to the grant. We will not press him about Cecrops, and Pelops, and the rest of the heathen crew, but let him explain how these more personal things came to be said of him. Perhaps, too, he will explain to us why the crest assigned to him was a Lion holding a book, and whether that book is (as Mr. Townsend so quietly assumes) a bible, or a book of martyrs. Until such a person is produced we shall be apt to believe that the language of the grant, and the device of the crest, apply to a certain John Fox whom we know, and whom, on other grounds, we suppose to have been born about the year 1516, to have been personally known to, and particularly favoured by, the sovereign by whom the grant was made, whom his friends considered an ornament of the country and a pillar of the church, whom princes honoured, whose "Acts and Monuments" are in fact his monument to posterity, and whom his friends believed to be endowed with superhuman powers and divine inspiration.

Thus I had reasoned from what appear to me to be particular points of application, sufficient, not merely to contradict, but to make us wonder at, Mr. Townsend's bold assertion. To expose this, and as some apology for having previously believed what I think I may say now turns out to be true beyond all

dispute, I let it stand. That John Fox the Martyrologist was the person meant in this grant (whether its issue was regular or irregular, and whensoever and by whomsoever it was penned) seems to me to be placed beyond all doubt by the fact, proved by a visitation-book in the College of Arms, that Sir Richard Willis, who married the great-granddaughter of the Martyrologist, bore those arms in an escutcheon of pretence. "Dame Alice Willys," as she is called at p. 205 of Mr. Townsend's Life, was, as she is there stated to have been, (though I must be allowed to say that I had found it out before, and am not stealing one of Mr. Townsend's discoveries,) the "only daughter and sole executrix," in fact she was the only child, of Dr. Thomas Fox, the eldest Son of Samuel, the eldest Son of John the Martyrologist, and therefore the representative and heiress of that branch of the family.

It seems to me that I have been in no error on this point. Will Mr. Townsend acknowledge any?

4. Mr. Townsend says;—

"4. The fourth error of Mr. Maitland is, *the deduction of an argument for the spuriousness of the Memoir, from the manner in which its writer spells the name of Foxe in Latin.* He spells it with an i; thus—Foxius, and not Foxus, which last was the manner of spelling adopted both by Foxe himself and his contemporaries."

Such gross misapprehension can scarcely be affected; and I give Mr. Townsend credit for having written in so much wrath and haste that he really

did not understand my argument, though to me it appears very simple. It is merely this—that though other people might latinize the name of Fox in one way or another, yet John Fox himself and his son Samuel always made it *Foxus*, and not *Foxius*, as the writer of the Memoir does; and for this reason, among others, it seems as if the Memoir had not been written by Samuel Fox. How is this “proved to be an error, from two considerations: the first is, that in that age persons spelt the same name many different ways”

“But the second consideration is, that the manuscripts, now remaining in the Harleian Collection (which this trifler ought to have inspected before he thus reasoned), abound in instances in which the Latin name of Fox, or Foxe, is spelled with an i, as well as without?” What answer is it to my argument to tell me that the Harleian Catalogue-Maker, and some of the persons whose papers he catalogued, chose to write *Foxius*, if John Fox and his Son always wrote *Foxus*? The trifler, and something worse, is the person who accumulates at secondhand from a catalogue a show of irrelevant references to prove what nobody disputes. I hope I do not exceed the just limits of self-defence, or approximate to Mr. Townsend’s unhappy egotism, if I express my belief that long before his book was published, I had inspected, not merely the catalogue of the Harleian Collection, but the original of every document in it to which he has referred.

Certainly, as Mr. Townsend says, I spoke of "the large mass to which Strype refers, under the title of 'Foxii MSS.:'" and, as he says, I did it without perceiving in it any "demonstration" about the matter. Neither do I see any now. It may show that Strype latinized *Fox* by *Foxius*, but how does that affect the fact, which Mr. Townsend dares not dispute, that John Fox himself, and his Son the reputed Author of the Memoir, never wrote *Foxius* but always *Foxus*? And having thus occasion to refer to these Foxian MSS. I publicly ask Mr. Townsend *how much* of that "large mass" he *had* "inspected," and whether he did not publish his life of Fox *without ever having seen any one of them*?

5. Mr. Townsend says;—

"5. Mr. Maitland's fifth error is, *the inference that the Memoir is proved to be spurious, because it is there said that John Foxe was eleven years writing his Martyrology*. Mr. Maitland declares this to be a statement *so monstrous, that he wonders how any body could have written it*; and he is pleased, though in a dubious rather than in a courteous manner, to compliment my sagacity, at the expense of my lucubrations, by expressing his astonishment that *even Mr. Townsend would read it without suspicion*."

I meant no compliment to Mr. Townsend in any way; but merely to state my surprise that even a writer obviously thoughtless, and careless, could help seeing something which appeared to be so plain. This opinion which I had formed of his recklessness is fully borne out by the very paragraph now quoted.

At least I am willing to ascribe it to this, rather than to any thing worse, (joined however, I must add, to an ignorance of his subject which prevented his being aware of the force of my statement,) that he has so misrepresented what I said. At the same time he has an odd way of stripping an argument of its clothes and stuffing them with straw, and then he deals notably with the thing that he has made, and is, I suppose, gratified by the applause of those bystanders who are blinded by the dust, and imagine from his triumphant outcries that he is doing something very valiant.

If there were an anonymous book now published purporting to be a Life of Mr. Townsend, and ascribed to his own son, in which it was stated that he had been thirty years engaged upon an epic poem, I might (if he had not told me so in this very pamphlet, and if I had not been acquainted with his history and proceedings somewhat longer than that) feel some surprise; but I should not think that it threw suspicion on the authorship of the Life. It might be written by his son; and his son, one would think, must know. If however it told us that Mr. Townsend had been thirty years writing a poem which he began to write soon after he went to reside at Durham, I should be apt to say, "Surely this cannot be written by his son; he must know his father's history better than that." I said what is perfectly analogous of John Fox's son. My words out of which Mr.

Townsend has picked his statement were, "he tells us that Fox *began* his Martyrology at Basil², *and* was *eleven years* writing it,—a statement so monstrous, that one wonders how any body could have written it, and how even Mr. Townsend could read it without suspicion." The statement *is* monstrous; and Mr. Townsend no more believes it than I do. It seems to me a strong ground for believing that the Memoir was not written by Fox's son, but by somebody more ignorant of the Martyrologist's history than we can possibly suppose his son to have been.

But it may be right to look a little further at this matter of the eleven years; for, since Mr. Townsend published his "Remarks," he has repeated his statement, and I engaged to notice it. (See p. 93, *post*.)

There can be little doubt that Mr. Townsend was led to specify this period of eleven years, by the rambling legend of which I have already had occasion to say so much, and of which I may perhaps find occasion to say more hereafter; for its absurdities are

² The passages in the Memoir on which I grounded this statement are as follows, "I have showed before that Mr. Fox *first applied himself to write the history of the Church whilst he was at Basil.*" The fact being that he had *published* what is commonly called the first edition at *Strasburg*, before he went to *Frankfort*, and therefore, of course, before he went to *Basil*. The passage referred to is I suppose that which I have quoted in p. 16 of No. I. of these notes;—"His industry may be from hence abundantly testified; that being so full of employment at Basil, *there nevertheless he began to write his history,*" &c.

not yet fully exposed. The Memoir-writer tells us not only, as I have shown in the note, that Fox began to write his history after he went to Basil, but he also says: "I find by the author's own notes, that in the *eleventh* year after he began to write it, the work was finished" (*undecimo quam scribi cœptum est anno finitum opus fuisse ex commentariis authoris reperio*).

This Mr. Townsend seems to have considered as warranting the following strong language:—

"Eleven years were *carefully and anxiously devoted*" [not merely had the project been formed, and the thing been in hand, all that time, as Mr. Townsend gives us to understand of his poem and his Life of Fox] "to the arrangement of the materials which were transmitted to him from all quarters, in examining the registries of the Bishops" [specially Gardiner's and Bonner's I suppose] "and other authentic records of the facts and events *he was to relate*; and in collecting the various documents essential to the perfecting of the work." Vol. i. p. 28.

Here are eleven years of preparation, with a stir which almost throws our Ecclesiastical Commission into the shade; but it is—I am sure the word is not too harsh—rigmarole.

If, in conformity with popular language on the subject, and with that absence of information which influenced Mr. Townsend when he wrote what I have just quoted, we call the *Strasburg* book in Latin the *first* edition, the *Basil* book in Latin the

second edition, and the *London* book in English the *third* edition, the case stands thus;—the prefatory letter in the *first* is dated the 31 Aug. 1554, and the colophon of the *third* is dated 20 March 1563—that is, the *printing* of the bulky folio was finished on that day; it being rather more than eight years and a half since the preface to the first edition was sent to the press. But then, of course, we may fill up eleven years, or any length of time, by saying that Fox had been two years and a half, or twenty years and a half, collecting matter for the “already prepared manuscript,” with which he travelled to Strasburg. Or if we do not like to take the time at that end of the matter, why not at the other? Why are we to consider the writing of the book as extending to the third, and only to the third, edition? Why not to the fourth, which would add seven years more? Why say eleven years? Just because Mr. Townsend did not know the books of which he was writing, or their history, and implicitly followed the absurd Memoir that said something about “eleven” years, which, having echoed it in pure ignorance, he now thinks himself called on to defend.

It is only justice to Fox to rescue him from his merciless vindicator, by stating what is obvious to those who know these three volumes, which Mr. Townsend appears *never to have seen*. It may be true that Fox travelled to Strasburg with an “already prepared manuscript.” Perhaps he carried it in his waistcoat pocket, as he certainly might do in regard

of bulk ; and perhaps, before he had been there a week, the Pope had picked his pocket of it, for somehow or other he seems to have lost it before the printers wanted it. Mr. Townsend tells us (on what authority I know not, for I cannot imagine that he had seen it) that the work “exhibits no signs of having been hastily written³.” Of course there is no reason why such a little thing should exhibit signs of haste if so great a part of the eleven years had been “carefully and anxiously devoted” to its compilation, and it was “already prepared” when he arrived at Strasburg. But what is Fox’s own account of his little book ? He is full of apology for the tumultuary haste in which it was got up. The printers were so urgent to get it in time for Frankfort fair, that he had less than two months allowed for arranging, transcribing, and composing from a mass of rough, undigested notes ; and this he was obliged to do, an exile from his country, unable to refer to the books and registers from which such matters might have been more fully stated ; this too in such time as he could gain from his daily employment of correcting the press, to say nothing of his want of health ; his only apology (and a very sufficient one if it were not for the bombast exaggeration of his ignorant admirers) was, that he had done his best under the circumstances. Certainly the hurry in which the book was made, if it did not injure the style, led to some

³ Life of Fox, p. 76.

errors in printing. One will be observed in the passage which I quote below ⁴, and a more gross one stares us in the face on the title-page, where we read that the book was printed in M.D.LXIII. instead of M.D.LIIII.

As to the second edition (Basil, 1559), Mr. Townsend tells us, "while therefore he continued to correct the press for Oporinus, he devoted all his leisure to the *reconstruction* of his ecclesiastical history ⁵." He could not have selected language more clearly demonstrating his ignorance of the two books. The Strasburg book, with scarcely any alteration except one or two additions, and with nothing in the world like "reconstruction" during the "carefully and anxiously devoted" years which elapsed between 1554 and 1559, (the bombast magnificence of which

⁴ After expressing the probability that he may pursue the subject, he says, "Interim habes hic (lector christiane) priorem hujus historiæ seriem, a Millesimo trecentesimo ad quingentesimum, qualicumque penicillo nostro deliniatum, in qua si ob tumultuariam festinationem non satis videbimur functi officio nostro: Aliud nihil respondeo quam Socraticum illud ex Xenophonte præstitisse me καὶ δύραμιν [*sic*]. Neque enim in aliena patria exulanti suppetebat ad manum parata librorum ac registorum copia unde plenius ista desumerentur. Rursus nec amplius bimestri spacio ante nundinas Francfordianas mihi concedebatur adhæc ex rudi ac informi sylvula recolligenda, digerenda, rescribenda, ac componenda etiam pleraque præter quotidianas insuper formularum typographicarum castigationes, ut nihil dicam de valetudine," &c. p. 204, b.

⁵ Life of Fox, p. 116.

has now shrunk into the "leisure" of a man earning bread for himself and his family as a corrector in a printing-office,) forms the first book of the Basil edition, and with those additions occupies but 118 out of the 732 pages which the Basil book contains. And what does Fox himself say about *this* portion of the eleven "carefully and anxiously devoted years?" Truly he has as much apology to make for tumultuary haste now, as he had before. He was obliged to break off the dedication to the Duke of Norfolk, because, as Mr. Townsend translates, "both printers and markets were urgent⁶," or, more properly, because the printers were in a hurry to get it ready for Frankfort fair, which was coming on⁷; and in his notice "Ad Lectorem" he expresses his regret that he had been prevented from giving due care and labour in digesting and arranging the matter of his volume, both by the "temporum ratio" (a phrase which I do not pretend to explain) and by the urgency of the printers⁸. But his cruel vindicator will have none of these excuses.

Now let us see what the Martyrologist says of the

⁶ Life of Fox, p. 122.

⁷ "Volebam præterea de iis apud te multo plura, sed vix dieculæ pars mihi ad compellendam sublimitatem tuam dabatur, ita festinabant typographi, et urgebant nundinæ."

⁸ "Illud doluit, in recognoscendis istis et perpoliendis justam nobis operam curamque defuisse. Sic enim urgebant cum temporum ratio, tum duo pariter typographi, alter Basiliensis, qui latine imprimeret, alter Genevensis, qui Gallicam etiam hujus historiæ editionem efflagitabat." P. 1.

English, or third, edition. In his prefatory address "ad doctum Lectorem" he says that some persons had complained of his having been so long bringing it out, and is anxious to describe the tumultuary haste in which, as on both the previous occasions, the book was got up and published. He had been forced, he tells us, to huddle it up in a space of scarcely eighteen months, and with a degree of haste such as he acknowledges to be very unfit for such a performance¹. Why may not Fox have the benefit of these apologies, which every body must see that his work really wants and every fair critic will be willing to

¹ "Deinde si tardius exeat ipsorum opinione volumen, meminert, proverbiali præcepto, Lentam esse festinationem oportere; et bos dicitur lassus fortius pedem figere. Egimus in hac quidem re pro virili nostra; egimus spero et pro officio, si non satis pro temporis modo expedite, at egimus certe pro valetudine; addam porro, egimus supra valetudinem. Quin et illud ipsorum venia adjicere liceat, egisse nos maturius quam ipsis forsan expediet qui in hunc nugantur modum: certe maturatius egimus quam tanti momenti et magnitudinis negotio conveniebat, quod accuratorem in digerendis rebus moram curamque postulabat; cum a nobis vix integros datos esse menses octodecim præparandæ materiæ, comportandis componendisque rebus, conferendis exemplaribus, lectitandis codicibus, rescribendis his quæ scripto mandata erant, castigandis formulis, concinnandæ historiæ, et in ordinem redigendæ, etc. noverint ii qui testes adfuerunt, et temporis conscii, et laboris socii."—New Edition, Vol. i. p. 506.

Why, had he not been carefully and anxiously and devotedly employed in these very things for eleven years? When ignorance and a turn for rhodomontade unite, what work they make with plain facts!

give it? Why must his drummers and trumpeters go forth bragging that "eleven years were carefully and anxiously devoted" to the work, when the author modestly and apologetically tells us it was "so hastily rashed up at that present, in such shortness of time, as in the sayde booke thou mayest see (gentle reader) declared and signified ²."

Can any one who has read only what I have extracted from Fox respecting his work conceive of any thing more trifling and absurd than Mr. Townsend's calculation that there are nearly six thousand pages in the new edition? "If we omit the Sundays, and a few holidays, or days of unavoidable interruption, from the days of eleven years, the work would have been completed in eleven years, at the rate of two large closely-printed pages per day. The slow rate at which a large work proceeds may be learned from the interesting criticisms of Dr. Johnson, on the progress of Pope's translation of Homer ³." There is something pleasant in comparing these two works, because they are both large. Of course a large work is a large work; but I suspect that the editor of the Times can "rash up" matter for his large work more easily, and more rapidly, than Mr. Townsend can for his epic poem, and one reason may be that a great part consists of documents composed and fur-

² Edition, 1583, p. 702. The Editor of the new edition, not knowing, I suppose, what to make of "rashed up," has turned it into "raked up." Vol. iii. p. 704.

³ Remarks, p. 11.

nished by others. What an idea does Mr. Townsend's suggestion give us of his knowledge of the work respecting which he is writing? What notion has he of the *material* of which Fox's Martyrology consists, and of the proportion for which, as original composition, Fox was responsible?

6. Mr. Townsend's "Remarks" on this point—the identity of the Tracts "De lapsis" and "De non morte plectendis," are I hope sufficiently answered in my letter to the John Bull which I have already given, at page 7 of this pamphlet.

7. Mr. Townsend says;—

"7. Mr. Maitland's seventh error would be denominated by writers less gentle, mild, and bland, than myself, by another epithet. Mr. Maitland has made a positive affirmation, which is decidedly and most exceedingly erroneous. He has not insinuated, he has dared to affirm *that Mr. Townsend has himself made a confusion about Foxe's two editions of his Latin Book printed abroad*; and he adds, '*it may be as well to say, that the writing of the work was begun in England, that it was first printed at Strasburg in 1554, and reprinted at Basil in 1559.*'

The first of these sentences is a '*very remarkable one.*' If Mr. Maitland will turn to page 75 of my Life of Foxe, which he is condescending to criticize, he will find, that I have made no confusion whatever. I have distinctly said in *page 76*, that the first edition of Foxe's work was published at Strasburg, in 1554, and in *page 116* I give also an account of his Latin edition printed at Basil, in 1559. Yet Mr. Maitland declares, and publishes his declaration to the world, that I have confounded these two editions."

Other people, and Mr. Townsend too, may describe my statement as they please, but it is undoubtedly

true. I have "dared to affirm," and I dare to maintain, that Mr. Townsend has "made a confusion about Foxe's two editions of his Latin book printed abroad." I believe that when he wrote the life of Fox he had never seen either of them, and was so entirely ignorant of the difference between the little octavo and the large folio, as to take it for granted that what one contained, the other did; while as I have already said, all (and more than all) the octavo is contained in the first 118 of the 732 pages of the folio. He not only thus confounded them as to their contents, but he *twice* gave the title of the *second* instead of, and believing it to be, the title of the *first*. This I have stated more particularly in a note appended to my "Remarks on Mr. Cattley's defence of his edition," which note I now reprint⁴.

Mr. Townsend's complaint that he is robbed of his discoveries is only worthy of notice as showing what sort of things he considers as discoveries. It will be obvious that I was not speaking of a discovery at all, (certainly, if I had, I was not indebted to Mr. Townsend for it,) but of what I supposed to be a fact well known, and one which the reader should have clearly before him, but respecting which he might have been in some degree puzzled by Mr. Townsend's mistakes, if he had read his erroneous accounts of the titles of the two editions, and his self-contradictory statements of the date of the first.

⁴ See Note A. p. 39, forward.

8. The eighth charge I really do not understand. It is in these words :—

"8. The eighth error in Mr. Maitland's notes is—*the intimation that I have omitted to affirm that Foxe remained on the Continent some time after the accession of Elizabeth.*"

I intimated nothing of the sort. I said that the author of the Memoir showed his ignorance of facts by stating that Fox brought home a mere outline of his history, filled it up, and sent it to Basil to be printed; while it was amongst the clearest things in Fox's history, that he remained abroad, after most of his companions had returned, to superintend the printing. I said nothing, and meant nothing, about Mr. Townsend, as any body who chooses may see. His talk about discoveries is too childish. I am not aware that I am indebted to Mr. Townsend for the slightest particle of knowledge respecting Fox; and he may rest assured (and others will, I am sure, believe, after what I have exposed) that I should be very shy of appropriating any "discovery" of his. I repeat, that his charge is wholly unintelligible, and has, I believe, arisen entirely from some misunderstanding, originated by the hasty and wrathful manner in which he has read my notes.

9. The ninth charge is that relating to Sir Thomas Lucy, and I hope that it is sufficiently answered in my letter to the John Bull. It is hardly necessary to reply to the silly and evasive question, whether it was not "usual to call the heads of Knightly, or honourable, or large-landed families by that title,

whether they were actually created Knights or not?" but it ought to be noticed as giving some idea of Mr. Townsend's acquaintance with the language, the literature, and the state of things in the times

When Sir Knight and Sir Priest thought it did not demean them

To have but one dish, and one title, between them.

How much can he who asks such a question know of what ought to be familiar to the biographer of Fox?

Mr. Townsend says, "I am accused of supposing that the title of Knight was hereditary. I have made no such supposition." I presume that he refers to my statement that his letter was "written under the misconception that there was an hereditary title in the family." So, I still believe, it was; for on what other ground did he call William Lucy "*Sir* William," than that he was the *son* of *Sir* Thomas the elder? on what other ground than such a supposition of hereditary title did he erroneously tell us that young Thomas Lucy "*became* Sir Thomas" in 1550, than because his father died in that year? It is plain that Mr. Townsend *did* believe that the title *descended* from father to son as a matter of course, and it would have been better, if not to have acknowledged such a common piece of ignorance, to have let it pass, rather than to provoke farther notice of it by so poor an evasion.

But yet we see that if we were to grant Mr. Townsend that William Lucy was called *Sir* because he was "large-landed" or large-bodied, or for any

other reason, or no reason, it would not satisfy him, for he also argues that "the Memoir of his son is right in speaking of his reception into the house of Sir Thomas Lucy, even though he was received by the father of his pupil Sir Thomas, that is, by Sir William Lucy." So that this *Sir* William, whom Mr. Townsend has created for the special purpose, is not enough to satisfy his conscience, and he must bring in Thomas Lucy who, was at a later time of his life *Sir*, and *Thomas*, and a *Knight*—three things distinctly required by the Memoir, but not one of which can be predicated of William Lucy, Esquire.

Let us see then how this is made out. "We say," says Mr. Townsend, "that the Duke of Wellington won the battle of Assaye in India; whereas the illustrious holder of that title was Arthur Wellesley only at that time." [Was not he "Honourable?"—I beg pardon, but Mr. Townsend should give honour where honour is due, especially where he is standing up for hereditary honours. What will the Duke think of him?] "We speak of the Bishop of Chester's work, the 'Records of Creation' whereas he was only Mr. Sumner" [not "Reverend?" for shame, Mr. Townsend] "when that work was published," p. 17.

One cannot help laughing at this; but it should perhaps be treated more seriously, considering the misrepresentation which it contains. The reader is meant to reply to it, "Yes, I see that a biographer

might not very unnaturally say that at a certain time a person went to be tutor to the Duke of Wellington, or to the Bishop of Chester, meaning only that he went to be tutor to two children who afterwards became respectively a duke and a bishop, and not dreaming that anybody would suppose him to mean that he went to tutorize them after they had 'acceded' to those titles, everybody knowing that they did not obtain them while they were at all *in statu pupillari*; and the biographer of Fox might as naturally say that he went to be tutor to Sir Thomas Lucy, meaning only that he went to be a tutor to a child who was afterwards Sir Thomas Lucy." All this is very true. A biographer *might* have said this, and if he *had*, Mr. Townsend's illustration would have been fair. But what *did* the biographer say? *Did Mr. Townsend know?* and with the words of the Memoir before him how could he write as he has done? The biographer did *not* say that Fox went to instruct Sir Thomas Lucy, but, on the contrary, expressly and distinctly that he went to instruct Sir Thomas Lucy's children. "God's Providence began to show itself, procuring him a safe refuge in the house of a worshipful Knight of Warwickshire, called Sir Thomas Lucy, to whom he was sent for, to instruct his children."

10. "His tenth and greatest error," says Mr. Townsend, "therefore is that I can be guilty of personal meanness."

The absurd boasting with which Mr. Townsend

attempts to meet the charge is too contemptible for notice; but he must not be allowed to misstate facts as to the controversy, whatever he may do respecting himself. He says,

"10. The tenth error requires more especial notice.

In consequence of the manner in which Mr. Maitland had assailed the new edition of the Acts and Monuments, the publishers accused him of entertaining a '*personal dislike*' to the work. Instead of disavowing the sentiment, Mr. Maitland, with more candour than propriety, adopts it as his own. He did so, according to his own words, '*to express a dislike to the book itself, as distinguished from a simple disapprobation of their particular edition of it.*' In my preface, I sincerely, openly, boldly, and unsparingly censured Mr. Maitland for this conduct. This, my censure, he calls descending to personal meanness. His tenth, and his greatest error, therefore, is, *that I can be guilty of personal meanness.*"

It is true that the publisher said, and I said, what is here stated; but it is not true that on account of Mr. Townsend's censuring me for what I said, I charged him with meanness. Of course any such charge would have been absurd. The meanness with which I charged Mr. Townsend was, the picking up the words "personal dislike," improperly used at first respecting the *book* by the publishers, but at which, knowing what they meant, I did not cavil, and taking occasion by the repetition of them to convey the idea that I professed, and gloried, in a hatred against Fox himself, and was therefore a person who ought in return to be hated by all good men. Mr. Townsend has had, I imagine, too little to do with contro-

versy to be aware how common such tricks are, and how constantly those who find them out for themselves, think that they have been very clever, and hit upon a very lucky invention. But in fact it does not answer, because with all persons whose suffrage is worth having, it is seen to be one of the low arts of controversy avoided by respectable writers, and hated as well as despised by those who are really in search of truth.

There is, however, in Mr. Townsend's bombast egotism one thing beside its general tone, of which I must say a few words. He talks very grandly about presuming, and daring to insult him, and threatens that in case of my doing so he will "write no more replies." I beg to assure him, both that I have no wish to insult him, and that I do not care whether he writes or not. My object is, not to annoy him, but to promote a greater love of truth, and more exact search after it, especially as it regards that golden thread which runs through the varied web of time, the history of the Christian Church. This cannot be done while party is to publish its misstatements, and ignorance to shoot its bolts, at random. They must be resisted and exposed, and, if it please God, I will resist and expose them. I hope without the use of low arts, without taking advantage of the ignorance or passion of unlearned readers, and without personal insult to those who think fit to pursue a different course.

NOTE A, referred to at p. 32.

“As I have already said, the question whether Fox copied from *Illyricus*, and indeed the whole question of his use of authorities, belongs to Mr. Townsend rather than to Mr. Cattley; but as the latter gentleman has chosen to enter on it, and, in fact, it is the only thing in his “Defence” which seems to require any answer from me, I have thought it best to reply to it in these Remarks, and to say something respecting Mr. Townsend’s notice of the subject in a note. It is rather a curious circumstance, that just after I had written what is in the text, a friend came into my room, took up the volume, and, while I was engaged about something else, read the following passage, with its note, from p. 234.

“With respect, however, to the accusation that Foxe borrowed his account of the Waldenses from *Illyricus*, an examination of the facts of the case would rather make us believe that *Illyricus* and Foxe both borrowed from some common document. With respect also to the supposition—that *Illyricus*, rather than Foxe, is entitled to the appellation of founder of that school of church history, which made the holy Catholic Church, not necessarily identified with the church of Rome—there appears to be sufficient evidence to render it very probable, that *Illyricus was indebted to Foxe, rather than Foxe to Illyricus.*

“In the year 1554, Foxe, as we have seen, made his escape from the anticipated persecutions of Mary, taking with him the manuscripts and collectanea, which enabled him to publish his first edition of the History of the Church, at Strasburg*. The *Catalogus Testium* of M. F. *Illyricus was printed in 1556, two years after the publication of the first edition of the work of Foxe. The Martyrologist, therefore, is not likely to have borrowed from Illyricus.*”

“* See Watts’s *Bibliotheca*, vol. i. p. 383. The book was published under this title:—‘*Rerum in Ecclesiâ gestarum, quæ postremis et periculosis his temporibus evenerunt, maximarumque per Europam Persecutionum, et Sanctorum Dei Martyrum cæterarumque rerum, si quæ insigniora exempla sint, digesti per Regna et Nationes.*’—8vo. Strasburg, 1554.”

Without knowing what I had just been writing about Fox’s copying from *Illyricus*, he was induced to read this note to me,

by his not being able to satisfy himself respecting the Latin ; and in particular, the *digesti* appeared to disagree with him, as, indeed, it seemed as if there was nothing with which it would or could agree. Perhaps, being a Fellow of the noble College of which Mr. Townsend still writes himself a member, he was scandalized at what bore such marks of ignorance. Be this as it may, in my own mind the effect was different. So many new ideas were raised, that I hardly know which I thought of first. It was very amazing to find the biographer and vindicator of Fox, after years of travail, going to such an authority as Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica for the title of the *editio princeps* of his great work, the only one by which he is known. Stranger still, that he should be so satisfied with such a barbarous and ungrammatical title as to print and publish it. Yet more wonderful, that he should allow himself to be put off with the title of the *second* edition, instead of the very different title of the *first*. Most marvellous of all, that he should, with innocent and ignorant simplicity, not only imagine, but ground an argument on the assumption, that what I quoted from the English edition, was, as a matter of course, in the Latin edition of 1554. His argument implies and absolutely requires this ignorance ; for it is simply, that Fox, who published in 1554, could not borrow from a book published in 1556¹.

I did not enter much into the subject with my friend ; but as both the *first* and *second* editions were in the room, it was easy to show him that Mr. Townsend, while looking for the title of the *first* edition (Strasburg, 1554), had been put off with a faulty copy of the title of the *second* (Basil, 1559), which is as follows ;—

“Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum, quæ postremis et periculosis his tempo-

¹ The absurdity of this assumption, and the ignorance which it displays of the small beginning and gradual increase of Fox's work, may be made apparent to those who have never seen the books, by stating that my copy of Fox, from which, I presume, I copied the account of the Waldenses, weighs eighteen pounds ; the little Strasburg book of 1554 (which was printed before the book of Illyricus, and which, it was taken for granted, contained all that the others did) does not weigh eleven ounces.

ribus evenerunt, maximarumque per Europam Persecutionum, ac Sanctorum Dei Martyrum cæterarumque rerum, si quæ insignioris exempli sint, digesti per Regna et Nationes commentarii. Pars prima, in qua primum de rebus per Angliam et Scotiam gestis, atque in primis de horrenda sub Maria nuper regina, persecutione, narratio continetur. Autore Joanne Foxo Anglo. Basileæ, per Nicolaum Brylingerum et Joannem Oporinum."

The title of the Strasburg book, if Mr. Townsend had happened to know it, would, perhaps, have saved this exposure of his ignorance; for it clearly professes to begin its history from and after the time of Wicliffe; and, therefore, it might have been suspected that it did not contain the history of the Waldenses. It is as follows:—

"Chronicon Ecclesiæ, continens historiam rerum gestarum maximarumque per totam Europam Persecutionum a Vviclevi temporibus usque ad nostram ætatem. Authore Joanne Foxo. Hiis in calce accesserunt Aphorismi Joannis Vviclevi cum collectaneis quibusdam Reginaldi Pecoki Episcopi Cicestrensis. Item *Οπισογραφία* quædam ad Oxonienses. Argentorati. Excudebat Josias Richelius. Anno M.D.LXIIII." [erroneously for M.D.LIIII.]

These titles I showed to my friend; and, when he was gone, I thought it would be right to append to what I had written some sort of reply to this broad charge of ignorance, which Mr. Townsend had seen fit to make against me on the strength of what he is pleased to call "an examination of the facts of the case." It is obviously the plain sort of charge which is comprehended and remembered and repeated by every body. "Only think how stupid and ignorant in Mr. Maitland to charge Fox with copying from a book in 1554, that which was not published till 1556." Those who would not pretend to give an opinion on the general question, could see this plain enough. Such advantage bold ignorance always has in controversy; and it is only by patient exposure that it can be met. But my friend had shut the book, and I was too little acquainted with it to know where to find the note which he had been reading.

In turning over the leaves, however, I found another note on p. 288.

"Since I wrote my remarks on Mr. Dowling, who considers Illyricus and

not Foxe to be the father of ecclesiastical history, I have procured the collation of the first edition of Foxe's work, published in 1556, with that of 1559, and with Illyricus, and find that I have been misled in the supposition, that the account of the Waldenses was in that edition. It first appeared in 1559, after the Catalogue of Illyricus had been published; not before, as I had been informed."

When Mr. Townsend found out his mistake, did not common honesty require him to make some kind of reference to his contradiction of my suggestion, and his argument founded upon it? Let it pass. How long after the other note this one was written, I cannot tell; but I presume, that if it had not been after the former note was actually in print, that note would not have appeared. It seems, therefore, to show, that up to the time when the former note was in print, and probably up to the present moment, Mr. Townsend's acquaintance with the two first editions of the Martyrology is simply derived from what he calls "a collation," received after the first note was printed, and bearing very suspicious marks of having been furnished by his kinsman, or some of his unhappy "amanuenses," who are continually performing such works of art as turning 1554 into 1556, and other little things which cavillers lay hold of.

But really, in writing this note, I am very much in the condition in which Mr. Townsend has been while writing his contributions to Fox; that is, in the predicament of a school-boy who is learning his lesson while he is saying it; for almost every word of the preceding lines had been written when I most accidentally opened the book at p. 76, where Mr. Townsend says of Fox:—

"The first part of his great work was published at Strasburg, after he left Frankfort, and before he arrived at Basil. These circumstances enable us to ascertain that the materials must have been collected, and the MS. prepared, during his residence in Reigate. It exhibits no signs of having been hastily written, as it must have been if it had been prepared while he was travelling on the continent. It was written in Latin. Its title was 'Commentarii Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum, a Wiclefi temporibus usque ad annum M.D.' and was published at Strasburg, 1554, towards the end of which year the author probably left England. It contains the ecclesiastical history of two hundred years; and it was as copious an account of that most interesting period as any which had then been published."

It will be observed, that in this *earlier* notice Mr. Townsend speaks critically, and gives us his opinion of the book as if he was acquainted with it. But if so, how could he give such an erroneous account of its title? In the errata, however, referring to the first sentence of it, we find the following notice:—

“This is not quite correct. The *Commentarii* were published in 1554, and therefore before he had left Frankfort², as is said in the previous sentence. See p. 80.”

And when we turn to p. 80, we find that “he proceeded by slow stages to Strasburg, where he committed to the press the first part of his labours,” and on it the following note:—

“The book was printed in Latin under the title, ‘*Rerum in Ecclesiâ gestarum, quæ postremis et periculosis his temporibus evenerunt, maximarumque per Europam Persecutionum, ac Sanctorum Dei, per Regna et Nationes.*’ Strasburg. 1554. 8vo.”

Here is another blundering, ungrammatical extract from the title of the *second* edition, given as the title of the first edition, and referred to with confidence and complacency in the table of “*Addenda et Corrigenda*,” which we may suppose to contain the most mature fruits of Mr. Townsend’s research.

² This is not the place for criticism on the biographical part of Mr. Townsend’s contributions; but they partake of an infirmity which I have had occasion to remark upon in the work to which they are prefixed; namely, that in quoting a passage to set right one mistake, one is too often obliged either to notice, or to seem to acquiesce in, one or two others of a different kind. Mr. Townsend’s attempt to correct a very gross and ignorant misstatement, is itself an error quite as gross, if not more so. He says, that Fox “probably” left England at “the *end*” of the year 1554; when, if he had known this first edition, the style of which he criticises, he would have seen that the prefatory epistle was dated from Strasburg, 31st August, 1554; and Fox’s complaint, that the bookseller’s anxiety to be in time for the fair had allowed him only two months to prepare the volume, seems to intimate that he had been there during at least that period: “*Rursus nec amplius bimestri spatio ante nundinas Franckfordianas mihi concedebatur ad hæc ex rudi ac informi sylvula recolligenda*,” p. 206. *b.* But the important point to be observed is, that the Strasburg book was *not* printed “after he left Frankfort,” nor “before he had left Frankfort,” except inasmuch as it was printed before he went to Frankfort at all. Whether he accompanied his booksellers

This is a strange way of writing biography, especially the life of a man whose life would probably never have been written at all, but for the work of which his biographer so blunders the title and confounds the editions.

Perhaps some where or other in Mr. Townsend's contributions there is (I believe there ought to be) another note telling his readers that his correction in the note on p. 288 is a blunder, and that the account of the Waldenses is no more in the edition of 1559 than in that of 1554."—*Remarks on Mr. Cattley's Defence*, p. 75.

to the fair, I know not, but I believe the first proof of his being there is his signature to a letter written at Frankfort, dated the 3rd December, (Troub. of Fr. p. xxv.) and he seems to have remained at Frankfort until Aug. 31, 1555, when, adhering to the more violent party in the schism which took place, he seceded with them; or, to use the language of the 'Troubles of Frankfort,' "The oppressed church departed from Frankfort to Basil and Geneva, some staying at Basil, as Maister Fox with other," p. LIX.

LETTERS, &c.

RELATING TO THIS CONTROVERSY, REPRINTED FROM
THE BRITISH MAGAZINE.

ALMOST all the foregoing pages were written very shortly after the appearance of Mr. Townsend's pamphlet, and while a correspondence was carrying on between us in the British Magazine. Mr. Townsend having signified his determination not to continue that correspondence, I think it right to collect the letters, and reprint them, not only for the sake of placing them in a more convenient and permanent form, but in the hope that they may be seen by some of the subscribers to the new edition of Fox who have not read them in the magazine, and that from those who have, they may obtain the advantage of being read in immediate succession. With the same view I add also some letters which have passed between Mr. Cattley and myself in the same magazine.

I.

FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE FOR DECEMBER, 1841.

“MR. TOWNSEND, of Durham, and his kinsman, Mr. Cattley, have at length brought out the first volume of their edition of Fox's Martyrology ; and the announcement that a supplementary

volume is to be published, containing 'between two hundred and three hundred cancel leaves,' for the benefit of the subscribers, who are first to pay for these cancel leaves, and then to pull their volumes to pieces, and insert them instead of pages of which even the parties who published them are now ashamed, will perhaps be considered as an evidence that some of the blunders pointed out in this Magazine were not merely the inventions of an enemy or the microscopic discoveries of hypercriticism.

It is not, however, my wish to occupy the pages of this work with what I may feel called upon to write in this controversy; but as to what concerns itself, it is of course the natural organ of reply. If on no other consideration, the reference which I have made to 'W. B.,' in the reprint of my letters, would make it my duty to defend him from such insolent abuse published in a work to which he seems to have been so lucky as not to be a subscriber, and which, as I know of no other way of addressing him, might therefore escape his notice. In 'The defence of this Edition by the Editor' Mr. Cattley says—

"Having said thus much, the Editor has only to add, that the first volume of this edition needs no defence. That it is perhaps open to attacks by some critics, that it will be attacked by others, is a subject which concerns him not at all. And now, without taking a survey of each individual volume, he would rather turn his attention to some of those observations which have been offered by certain ready scribes, touching the errors and oversights which exist in the second and succeeding volumes. The first attack may be briefly disposed of. The Editor refers to a letter in the British Magazine of October, 1837. In this, a writer signing himself 'W. B.¹' brings a direct charge of carelessness in collating the various editions, nay, of actually omitting some of the text of Foxe. The charge made is relative to the history of John Browne, a martyr. Now, there is no point which has been more attended to in the editorial department, than that of collation. The Editor is ready to adhere to this as his stronghold². He therefore felt at once that there was a positive falsehood, a wilful error, contained in this correspondent's remark.

¹ Page 404 of that journal.

² This excepts the first volume, for reasons before alleged, and other acknowledged alterations.

Few men who had so patiently and minutely investigated, collated, compared, and reviewed, the thousands of pages of the six standard editions of Foxe, including the Latin one, as the Editor has done, can read with equal patience, so careless and wilful a calumny as the one now referred to. The history of John Browne being given, this correspondent ventures to inquire—‘Can this new text be as Foxe penned it?’ Moreover, he asserts that he has compared the specimen page of the Acts and Monuments, containing this story, with the original, and that it does not tally with Foxe. Well indeed might this gentleman be an *anonymous* correspondent. Well might he only be known as Mr. ‘W. B. ;’ for can any man of honour,—can the Editor of the British Magazine, in common justice, admit such a direct false charge as is contained in this statement? If the editor of Foxe is to be held responsible for all the slips and errors of his amanuenses, scattered over so vast a field, is not the editor of a monthly journal responsible also? Shall the British Magazine go forth as an organ of the Christian church, and shall this falsehood be detected, as it has doubtless been by many, and shall it be three long years and a half before it be contradicted³? Does the writer now ask, ‘Is this *new* text as Foxe penned it?’ If he does, the Editor asserts that it is,—*verbatim et literatim*; yes, Foxe’s old, faithful, text; that is *no new text*; that it is found precisely where this cavilling correspondent might have found it, had he looked in the proper place, and with honest eyes, in p. 805 of the Edition of the Acts and Monuments of 1583-4; and not only so, but in all the five editions which the illustrious martyrologist himself revised, in its respective and corresponding place in the text.

This correspondent has *taken the pains* to compare *one specimen page* of the new edition with his own edition. He gives the *Editor* no credit for *taking the pains* to compare *ten thousand pages* with each other; and there is a question whether it was not *possible* to overlook *something* in that vast field of type. No, *he* compares *one page*; and what is the result? Why, he is guilty of a direct violation of truth and honesty, in turning to *another account* of the same martyr in a subsequent portion of the Acts and Monuments. Yes, he carefully conceals the page; but he turns *four hundred and eighty-seven pages forward*, in the edition of 1584, and he extracts from thence an incident of a ‘graphic kind,’ which he would lead the reader to believe that the Editor had omitted, and that Foxe had retained, in this first account of John Browne. Nor could this correspondent be mistaken in the existence of two slightly varying copies of the same story since the second insertion of it, and almost its verbal variations are carefully noticed by the Editor in

³ [Why did not Mr. Cattley write and contradict it? He will not dare to express a suspicion that the Editor would have refused to insert his letter.—Ed.]

vol. v. p. 694 (note 2), in the new edition. But, that every facility may be given to the reader to have Foxe, and the whole of Foxe, and a correct Foxe, carefully reprinted, John Browne, and, it may be, Mr. 'W. B.' shall have another place also in the Appendix.

This then is one of the puny, and false, and crafty insinuations with which this new edition is assailed."—p. 490.

After these heavy charges of 'positive falsehood,' 'wilful error,' 'so wilful a calumny,' 'a direct false charge,' 'direct violation of truth and honesty,' &c., in order that we may judge of their truth, let us look at 'W. B.'s' letter:—

"SIR,—Being possessed of an old edition of Fox, I have been little solicitous to know how its recent editors accounted for that monstrous list of blunders which an acute correspondent of yours has detected. But, opening the advertisements of your July number this afternoon, I saw an attack upon him, and also a 'specimen page.' This specimen page I have been at pains to compare with my own edition. Several alterations occur in a passage impugning the efficacy of the mass to deliver souls from purgatory. The old text was, 'Neither can you tell where *to* find it [i.e., the soul] when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done; how then can you *save* the soul?' The new edition reads, 'Neither can you tell where *you* find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done; how then can *you* have the soul?' Can this new text be as Foxe penned it? And even if so, is it sense? What do the editors mean by 'having the soul?'

Again, on what authority is 'Whitsunday even' substituted for 'Whitsun-even?' The day meant is the seventh, not the first, of the week.

'St. Pulchri' is put for 'S. Pulcher's.' Is there such a saint as Pulcher? Is not S. Pulcher's an abbreviation, or a mistake, for Sepulchre's?

'Baily-arrant' for 'Baily-errant.' This spelling is surely both obsolete and inaccurate.

For 'Wye,' a large village near Ashford, the new edition reads inaccurately 'Wey.'

These, except the first, are trifling faults, but they occur in the new specimen page.

I find also an interesting particular of a graphic kind left out. 'As he was brought to the town one night, there to be set in the stocks, it happened, as God would, that a young maid of his house coming by, and seeing her master, ran home and told her mistress.'

Having entered on this subject, let us ask whether Senibalde, in Grostete's

address, may not have been meant as a pun? [Canusini more.] Matthew Paris writes Senibalde, though he calls the pope Sinibaldus. I suppose, too, that Cave must have had some authority for calling the bishop Groshead. At all events, the example of Matthew Paris justifies Fox's change of spelling.
W. B.'

Now, in the first place, what can Mr. Cattley mean by talking about his *note*? Is he not telling us that 'W. B.'s' letter was printed in October, 1837; and does he not know that the volume containing the note to which he refers was not published until some time in 1838? I trust this is not what Mr. Cattley calls 'a wilful error.'

Secondly, it will be apparent that there is either great stupidity or dishonesty in Mr. Cattley's assuming and asserting that 'W. B.' had and used the edition of 1583. 'W. B.' says no such thing; but only that he had 'an old edition of Fox.' Now, how many editions Mr. Cattley would allow to bear this description I cannot tell; but in the note which 'W. B.' should have seen before it was published (and which, as it will be wanted presently, I may as well give here) he is sufficiently precise for our present purpose:—

"In the four standard editions of the Acts and Monuments from 1570 to 1596 (as also in some of the later editions), the reader is directed to 'the story of a good and constant martyr of the Lord before overpast, who suffered in Kent for the word of God, before Luther's time'—namely, 'The Story of John Browne, a blessed Martyr of Christ Jesus, burned at Ashford,' &c. Foxe seems to have forgotten that he had introduced it before, vol. iv. p. 181, under the date A.D. 1517; where it may be found, as also in the corresponding place of other editions; the only variation between the second copy of the story and the former is in the date; and the only addition is this:—'This story the said Elizabeth Browne, his wife, did oftentimes repeat to Alice her daughter, who, dwelling yet in the parish of St. Pulcher's, testified the narration hereof unto *me* and certain others; upon whose credible information I have recorded the same.'—ED." vol. v. p. 694.

In the passage, however, which I have before quoted from his 'Defence,' he speaks of 'the six standard editions of Foxe, including the Latin;' and also of 'the five editions' which the Mar-

tyrologist revised. And with regard to this latter description, I presume that he means the editions of 1563, 1570, 1576, 1583, 1596; and that in all and each of these editions the text is to be found as he has given in his specimen page. Now, I will not say that this is 'a direct violation of truth and honesty,' or that it is even a mistake, but I really believe that it is one or the other; at all events, if 'W. B.' was in an error, it was, I am sure, a very natural one, and one which most people would have fallen into, if they had only (as, perhaps, 'W. B.' might have) the 'standard' edition of 1576. I have not at present access to the editions of 1563 and 1570, and therefore cannot say anything about them; but that of 1576 is on my desk; and if the same version of John Brown's story, which the Editor has adopted, is to be found anywhere in it,—or if any version at all is to be found except at p. 1255, I shall be glad if he will tell me where. Now, supposing 'W. B.' to have had this edition, he might naturally turn first to the index, and there he would find only one 'John Browen,' with only one reference, and that to this p. 1255. If he turned to the place, it would, so far as I can see, justify every remark that he has made about it, except the first, as to the substitution of *you* for *to*, as will be seen by comparing the text as it there stands with the text as given in the specimen page. The reader must, however, remember that I have no means of knowing that 'W. B.' did not use some other edition, which might show that he was *perfectly* correct. '*To find the soul*' is obviously a better reading, and was probably the original one. '*You find the soul*' is plainly nonsense, seeing that the charge (and almost the admission) was, that the priest did not find it at all. However, here are the two stories; and I think some readers will be amused to see how that one which 'W. B.' found (and which will, I fancy, turn out to be the original) has been abbreviated and modified by somebody who did not think it particularly creditable to the martyr that he showed, even in a Gravesend boat, his want of respect for a priest.

Text of Ed. 1576.

"John Browne a blessed Martyr of Christ Jesus burned at Ashford by Archbishop Warham and Doct. Fisher Bishop of Rochester about the 2 yeare of K. Henry the 8. an. 1511.

"The first occasion of the trouble of this J. Browne the blessed servant of God was by a certain priest who passing down to Gravesend in the common barge where the said J. Browne was amongst divers other passengers mo, and disdayning that he so saucily should sit so near unto him in the barge who belike seemed not much to pass upon the priest, began to swell in stomach against him. At length bursting forth in his priestly voice and disdainful countenance he asked him in this manner 'Doest thou know' said he 'who I am? Thou sittest too near me, and sittest on my cloaths.' 'No, sir,' said the other 'I know not what you are.' 'I tell thee' quoth he 'I am a priest.' 'What, sir, are you a person or vicar or some ladies chaplain?' 'No' quoth he again 'I am a soul-priest. I sing for a soul.' 'Do you so, sir,' quoth the other 'that is well done. I pray you sir' said he 'where find you the soul when you go to mass?' 'I cannot tell thee' said the priest. 'I pray you where do you leave it sir when the mass is done?' 'I cannot tell thee,' said the priest. 'Neither can you tell where you find

*Text of Specimen Page.***"John Browne, Martyr¹.**

"The occasion of the first trouble of this John Browne, was by a priest sitting in a Gravesend barge. John Browne, being at the same time in the barge, came and sat hard by him; whereupon, after certain communi-

cation, the priest asked him; 'Dost thou know,' said he, 'who I am? thou sittest too near me, thou sittest on my clothes:' 'No, sir,' said he, 'I know not what you are.' 'I tell thee I am a priest.' 'What, sir! are you a parson, or vicar, or a lady's chaplain?' 'No,' quoth he again, 'I am a soul-priest, I sing for a soul,' saith he. 'Do you so, sir?' quoth the other, 'that is well done; I pray you, sir,' quoth he, 'where find you the soul when you go to mass?' 'I cannot tell thee,' said the priest. 'I pray you, where do you leave it, sir, when the mass is done?' 'I cannot tell thee,' said the priest. 'Neither

¹ This John Browne was father to Richard Browne, who was in prison in Canterbury, and should have been burned, with two more besides himself, the next day after the death of queen Mary, but that by the proclaiming of queen Elizabeth, they escaped.

it when you go to mass nor where you leave it when the mass is done.' 'How can you then *save* the soul?' said he. 'Go thy ways,' said the priest I perceive thou art an heretic and I will be even with thee.'

So at the landing, the priest taking with him Walter More and W. More, two gentlemen and brethren rode straightways to the Archbishop who then was Will. Warham. Whereupon the said John Browne within three days after was sent for by the Archbishop, his bringers up were Chiltern of Wye *baily arraunt* and one Beare of Wilseborough with two of the Bishops servants who with certain other, being appointed for the same, came suddenly to his house upon him the same day when his wife was churched, as he was bringing in a mess of porridge to the board serving his guests, and so laying hands upon him set him upon his own horse, binding his feet under the horses belly carried him away to Canterbury neither he nor his wife nor any of his friends knowing whether he went nor whether he should and there continuing the space of forty days, from Low Sunday, till Friday before Whit Sunday through the cruel handling of the said Archbishop and the Bishop of Rochester D. Fisher he was so piteously intreated that his bare feet were set upon the hot burning coals to make him reny his faith which notwithstanding he would not

can you tell where you find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done? how can you then *have* the soul?' said he. 'Go thy ways,' said the priest, 'thou art a heretic, and I will be even with thee.' So at the landing, the priest, taking with him Walter More, and William More, two gentlemen, brethren, rode straightways to the archbishop Warham. Hereupon the said John Browne within three days after,

his wife being churched the same day, and he, bringing in a mess of pottage to the board to his guests, was sent for, and his feet bound under his own horse, and so brought up to Canterbury; neither his wife, nor he, nor any of his, knowing whither he went², nor whither he should:

and there continuing from Low-Sunday, till the Friday before Whitsunday (his wife not knowing all this while where he was), he was set in the stocks overnight, and on the morrow went to death, and was burned at Ashford, A.D. 1517. The same

² Chilton of Wey, a *baily-arrant*, and one Beare of Willesborough, with two of the bishop's servants, set him upon the horse, and so carried him away.

do; but patiently abiding the pain continued in the Lords quarrel unremoveable. At length after all this cruelty sustained his wife yet not knowing where he was become, on Friday before Whitsunday he was sent to Ashford where he dwelt, the next day there to be burned.

In the meantime as he was brought to the town over night there to be set in the stocks it happened as God would that a young maid of his house coming by, and seeing her master ran home and told her mistress.

Then she coming to him and finding him in the stocks appointed to be burned the next morrow sat by him all the night long. To whom then he declared the whole story or rather tragedy how he was handled and how his feet were burned to the bones that he could not set them upon the ground, by the two Bishops aforesaid (he thanked God therefore) 'and all to make me' said he 'to deny my Lord, which I will never do, for if I should deny him said he in this world he would deny me hereafter and therefore I pray thee said he good Elizabeth continue as thou hast begun and bring up thy children virtuously in the fear of God.'

And so the next day which was on *Whitson even*, this godly martyr was burned; where he standing at the stake, said this prayer holding up his hands as followeth:—

'The prayer of Browne at his death.

O Lord I yield me to thy grace
Grant me mercy for my trespass
Let never the fiend my soul chase

night, as he was in the stocks at Ashford, where he and his wife

dwelt, his wife then hearing of him, came and sat by him all the night before he should be burned: to whom he, declaring the whole story how he was handled, showed and told, how that he could not set his feet to the ground, for they were burned to the bones; and told her, how by the two bishops, Warham and Fisher, his feet were heated upon the hot coals, and burned to the bones, 'to make me,' said he, 'to deny my Lord, which I will never do; for if I should deny my Lord in this world, he would hereafter deny me.' 'I pray thee,' said he, 'therefore, good Elizabeth! continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children virtuously, and in the fear of God.' And so the next day, on *Whitsunday even*, this godly martyr was burned. Standing at the stake, this prayer he made, holding up his hands:—

'O Lord, I yield me to thy grace,
Grant me mercy for my trespass;
Let never the fiend my soul chase.

Lord I will bow and thou shalt
beat

Let never my soul come in hell
heat.

Into thy hands I commend my spirit,
Thou hast redeemed me O Lord
of truth.'

And so this blessed martyr ended
his life in peace anno 1511.

This story the said Elizabeth
Browne his wife did oftentimes repeat
to Alice her daughter who dwelling
yet in the parish of *S. Pulchers* testi-
fied the narration thereof unto me
and certain other upon whose cre-
dible information I have recorded
the same.

Furthermore here is to be noted
that the said John Browne bare a
faggot seven years before this in the
days of King Henry the 7. Whose
son also, named Rich. Browne for the
like cause of religion was imprisoned
at Canterbury likewise, in the latter
time of Queen Mary and should have
been burned with two mo besides
himself the next day after the death
of Queen Mary, but that by the pro-
claiming of Queen Elizabeth they es-
caped."—ED. 1576, p. 1255.

Now, here it will be clear that (with the single exception
already mentioned) the text of the edition of 1576 fully bears out
everything said by 'W. B.' There is, I admit, a possibility that
both versions may be in this edition; but as I have not been
able to find it, I am disposed to defend 'W. B.,' even if Mr.
Cattley should (as he is bound) point out the repetition. Of one
thing I feel pretty certain—namely, that if by its 'respective and
corresponding place in the text' he means that the story of Brown
should appear in that part of the edition of 1576 which answers to
the specimen page (that is, between the martyrdom of Sweeting and
Brewster, and the Story of Richard Hun) it certainly is not

Lord, I will bow, and thou shalt
beat,

Let never my soul come in hell-
heat.

Into thy hands I commend my
spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O
Lord of truth.'

And so he ended³.

At the fire one Chilton, the baili-
arrant, bade cast in Browne's chil-
dren also, for they would spring, said
he, of his ashes.

This blessed martyr, John Browne,
had borne a faggot seven years be-
fore, in the days of king Henry VII."

³ Ex testimonio Aliciæ Browne,
ejus filiæ, cujus mariti nomen dice-
batur Strat. in parochia *St. Pulcri*.

there. I have not, however, thought it worth while to make any great search ; for, if he knows how to do it, Mr. Cattley will of course point out the pages of ALL the standard editions which are necessary to maintain his character for veracity.

One reason for giving the whole of both versions of the story is, that readers may judge how much the work has gained by Mr. Cattley's boasted collations. To myself it appears that he has chosen the worst version of the story ; certainly the most incorrect as to that respecting which we can be sure, for (to say nothing of the absurd and inconsistent side-note, talking of the *fourth* year of Henry VIII.) it refers to the year 1517 what certainly happened in 1511. It is also clear that it does contain 'a graphic incident' which the editor *has omitted*—nay, he has not merely omitted it, but actually denied its existence, by stating that 'the *only* addition' is that which he has given about Alice Browne.

But is it not singular—nay, when I consider how deeply the cause of truth is involved in the exposure of ignorant and impudent pretenders, I would say, with sincere belief and reverence, is it not a thing which we should thankfully ascribe to the good Providence of God, that those who write in a reckless manner about what they do not understand, so commonly expose themselves more completely than we could do without their help ? Is it not singular that Mr. Cattley should have exploded all this conceit and insolence upon a matter which very particularly displays his ignorance and negligence ? He professes to have given the story of John Browne at vol. iv. p. 181, as he found it in p. 805 of the edition of 1583, (and this may be true for what I know, as I do not possess that part of that edition,) and going forward four hundred and eighty-seven pages in the same volume he found a 'second insertion,' which he did not think it expedient to reprint, but of which 'almost its verbal variations are carefully noticed by the Editor' at vol. v. p. 694. What could the most pains-taking editor have done more ? Why, with very little additional trouble, he might have told his readers, what it is obviously necessary to tell Mr. Cattley as a piece of news, that *between* those specified pages in the fourth and fifth volume, and without the slightest reference to either of them, he had given yet another

account of John Browne's martyrdom, actually setting out at length the articles on which he was condemned. If he had not written the note of which he boasts, or made this silly attack on 'W. B.,' we might not have been certain that he had not suspected John Browne of Ashford, named in his note, p. 694, was the same person as John Browne of Ashford, mentioned at p. 648 of the same volume. Why, he was one of the 'FIVE BLESSED MARTYRS CONDEMNED AND BURNED,' as the head-line of p. 647 tells us, in the 'Persecution in Kent,' an account of which occupies nearly seven pages. This account of John Browne, which rests not on the recollection of an old woman, but on Archbishop Warham's Register, shows that the editor has adopted the worst version of the story, and that the true date is 1511, and not 1517.

This is not the place to enter on the history of the Kentish Persecution so fully as I hope to do elsewhere; but having referred to the account of John Browne's martyrdom, which is professedly taken from Archbishop Warham's Register, I feel bound to add that it is not taken correctly. This is the more necessary because the strong vouchers which have been given by various writers for Fox's strict fidelity and accuracy have been, in this same volume with Mr. Cattley's defence, collected and put forward with childish parade by Mr. Townsend. He has actually thought to do honour to Fox by stooping to pick up the praise of such an author as Neal⁴; thereby showing (as he does in another way more fully and more comically) how little he apprehends that the really valuable thing is 'laudari a laudatis,' and that very fine commendation is worth but little if it comes from the dunce, or the partisan, or the parasite. As to these vouchers for Fox, I hope to say something another time; meanwhile, so far as this case is concerned, will the reader be so good as to observe, that according to Fox's account, the articles upon which John Browne was condemned were as follows:—

"First, For holding that the sacrament of the altar was not the true and very body of Christ, but only material bread in substance.

II. That auricular confession was not to be made to a priest.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 28.

III. That no power is given of God to priests, of ministering sacraments, saying mass, or other divine service, more than to laymen ⁵.

IV. That the solemnization of matrimony is not necessary to salvation of soul, neither was instituted of God ⁶.

V. That the sacrament of extreme unction is not available, nor necessary to soul's health.

VI. That the images of the cross, of the crucifix, of the blessed Virgin, and other saints, are not to be worshipped; and that those who worship them do commit idolatry.

VII. That pilgrimages to holy places, and holy relics, be not necessary, nor meritorious to soul's health.

VIII. That invocation is not to be made to saints, but only to God, and that he only heareth their prayers.

IX. That holy bread and holy water have no more virtue after their consecration than before.

X. That they have believed, taught, and holden all and every of the same damnable opinions before; as they did at that present.

XI. That whereas they now have confessed their errors, they would not have so done, but only for fear of manifest proofs brought against them, or else but for fear to be convicted by them: they would never have confessed the same of their own accord.

XII. That they have communed and talked of the said damnable errors heretofore, with divers other persons, and have had books concerning the same."—vol. v. p. 648.

Now, I say nothing at present of the two notes which Fox has appended, because it would require a good deal of extract from the Register to enable those who have not seen it to form any opinion of the *possibility* that they could be written by anybody who understood the Process and meant to report the matter fairly; but I ask the reader just to look over the articles as here given from Fox, and see if he can find anything in them that is a translation of the following, which in the Register stands second among the articles ministered to John Browne:—"Item, quod sacramenta BAPTISMI et CONFIRMATIONIS non sunt necessaria ad salutem anime." Those who vouch for Fox may account for this omission as they please.

S. R. MAITLAND."

⁵ Their meaning was this, that priests can claim no more virtue or high estate by their order than can a layman.

⁶ For a sacrament, they meant.

II.

MR. TOWNSEND'S LETTER FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE,

JAN. 1842.

"SIR,—I perceive, in your Number for the present month, some observations, from the pen of Mr. Maitland, on the new edition of the Acts and Monuments of John Foxe. Mr. Maitland has advertised, also, 'Notes on the Contributions of Mr. Townsend to this Edition.' He has republished, too, the last Six Letters of a series of twelve, animadverting upon the same work, which were originally given to the world in the years 1837 and 1838, in the pages of your Magazine. Will you oblige me, as an original subscriber to, and as a constant reader of, your lucubrations, by inserting the very brief replies which I shall think it my duty to make to any observations which Mr. Maitland may submit to the public through this channel; and permit me, that I may more effectually clear the way for my answers to his letters in the Magazine, first to notice his advertisement in the several newspapers, and also his "*Six more Letters.*" I will then, as shortly, yet as fully, as his several attacks may demand, reply to them all, beginning with that in the Number for December.

With respect to his advertisement, '*Notes on Mr. Townsend's Contributions to the New Edition of John Foxe,*' I can only inform Mr. Maitland that I shall be most happy to read them; and he may be assured that I shall be no less happy to improve my mind and increase my knowledge by his criticisms—

'If some more sober critic comes abroad,
If right, I smile; if wrong, I kiss the rod.'

Mr. Maitland also will be no less happy to be benefited by me; and thus our mutual remarks may be considered as a mutual effort to improve each other. I will inform him, as we proceed in the discussion, of the benefit which I may derive from his efforts. It will, I trust, be greater than that which I can remember to have followed from my study of his previous labours.

The next point on which I would speak is the '*Six more Letters.*'

Very sorry was I, in these days of apostasy and treason, when the dry rot of indifference to the progress of the ancient superstitions, which neither our fathers nor ourselves were able to bear, is corrupting the beams of our tabernacle in the wilderness, to read many of his observations. Your pages are too valuable to permit me to examine them in detail. I will therefore merely mention the subject of each letter, and condense my replies in the smallest possible space.

The first letter contains remarks on Foxe's account of Francis of Assissi, the founder of the Franciscan order. John Foxe derides him. Mr. Maitland considers his derision as most absurd. My answer shall be derived from Mr. Maitland's own comparison in p. 76:—'The false enemies and foolish friends have daubed the originators of the mendicant order with alternate coats of dirty slander and childish praise, till they become in the predicament of some of the figures in our churches, where, between the Iconoclast rebel and the whitewashing churchwarden, the features can scarcely be traced.'

This is a pretty comparison. John Foxe is the Iconoclast, and Mr. Maitland the churchwarden; and I wish him joy of the self-assumed office. He confesses (p. 17) that he 'cannot decide whether Francis actually pierced his hands and feet with nails.' John Foxe believes the common story that he did so.

Foxe expresses the disbelief of the saintship of Francis in no drawing-room language, but in the bold and coarse style which shocks the present day. Mr. Maitland calls his language 'trash.' (p. 85.) He demands, 'what good can be done by reprinting it? and whether the church of England has no resource against Rome but railing and calling names?' Our resources, I answer, against Rome, are derived from the Holy Scriptures, from antiquity, from the Fathers, from sound learning, scholarlike criticism, and every feeling which the love of truth and liberty can engender in the human heart; and all controversy ought to be discussed in the most calm and unimpassioned manner. But Foxe lived in a day when men were burnt to death for not believing doctrines which were supported by the false legends and detestable frauds

of such impositions as the stigmata of St. Francis ; and indignation against cruelty made him no less severe with the impositions by which they were upheld. The strong language of that indignation deserves to be described by other epithets than 'trash and railing.'

The second letter contains further remarks on the language of Foxe, some of which is defensible, some indefensible. I shall only notice that which Mr. Maitland calls 'sad stuff, in point of taste and religion.' (p. 96.)

In the high and palmy state of the church of Rome, one of its bitter opponents wrote a paper against its bishops and clergy, which purported to be a letter from Lucifer, Prince of Darkness, to the princes of the church, to thank them for 'the manner in which their influence crowded his dominions.' Mr. Maitland expresses his profound contempt for this brochure. I have already, in a former publication¹, called it a severe and bitter libel. Our ancestors used more uncourteous language, as well as more fiery arguments, on both sides, than their silky sons ; but I tell Mr. Maitland, in all soberness of feeling, that if it be indeed true, as he believes, and as I believe, that moral and spiritual evil was introduced, and is continued in the world, by a fallen and powerful spirit, who rejoices to destroy the effects of Christ's redemption ; that the devil in his hell is to be congratulated when the clergy of Christ's church poison the waters of life, and instead of healing souls, increase their diseases, and thus thrust them down from heaven to hell. In vain do they worship God, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. This may seem strong language ; but stronger language must be used before we can expel from our church the poison which is beginning once more to pervade it.

The third letter abuses Wycliffe and some of his friends, who are defended by Foxe, for asserting that the temporalities of the church are resumable at the pleasure of the princes and great men who were their donors.

¹ Accusations of History against the Church of Rome.

Is not the assertion in one sense true? The property of the church was given at the first, and the same property is secured by the state in perpetuity, on condition that true Christianity is taught to the people. If the clergy of the present day, from Archbishop Howley to the poorest incumbent of the church, were to conspire together to teach submission to a foreign power, treason to the state, unitarianism, or popery, would not the state be justified in withdrawing its protection from that property, and in punishing conspiracy by confiscation? The clergy are not the church. The church is the congregation of faithful men, the family of Christ, of whom the clergy are the servants, as well as the fathers and instructors. The clergy have once taught the people erroneously and served them treacherously, and they may do so again. If so, the congregation must punish them.

The fourth letter treats with just contempt the story that six thousand children's heads were found in a fish-pond. Mr. Maitland, with much humour and most amusing sarcasm, proves Foxe to be credulous, and his editor to be unwise.

The fifth letter condemns the opinions which Foxe approves, and which were held by Thorpe, a Lollard, and others, on the subject of the church property. I have already replied to these remarks.

The last letter condemns the martyrologist for his general abuse of the prelates and bishops of the church. Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had put some churches under an interdict; that is, he had prohibited the worship of God on the Lord's-day because the bells were not rung as he passed. Foxe condemns this conduct in his usual unsparing language. Mr. Maitland calls this language 'low radical mockery at all ecclesiastical authority.' (p. 135.) He asks whether any one of the admirers of Foxe will come forward and say that this was written in the style and with the feelings of a Christian?

I answer, that I approve most of the language which Foxe has used. With respect to the affirmation that the circulation of such remarks on bishops and prelates will injure the cause of the church and its higher magistrates in the present day, I can only

say it produces more surprise than conviction. No reader of the pages of John Foxe can possibly imagine that the language which the martyrologist applies to Arundel and the martyr-burning bishops, who exerted themselves to reduce England to the yoke of Rome, can be applied to the mild and gentle virtues of Howley and his brethren. It might have been supposed that Mr. Maitland would have paused before he imagined the possibility of such an identity. He may be assured of this, that if he and his brethren, who are beginning to palliate the follies, defend the conduct, explain away the doctrines, and endeavour to reconcile the people and church of England to the yoke of Rome, shall persevere much longer in their wickedness and folly, they will provoke a reaction against them, which shall elicit from the people much severer language than John Foxe has used. I tell him, too, that if our Howleys, Blomfields, and Sumners, imitate the conduct of Arundel, they will deserve the same contempt which Foxe heaped on Arundel. If they behave like Laud, they will deserve, not to lose their heads, but to be deposed from their high office by a national synod, amidst the universal execration of the people. Mr. Maitland may be certain that the people love the clergy of their church; but they love more, far more than they love their clergy, the truth of Christ's gospel, and the constitutional liberty, both of which Rome opposed and hated.

At the conclusion of this letter, Mr. Maitland inquires whether Mr. Townsend will vindicate an expression of a man named Purvey, approved by Foxe, 'that every Christian, as well as the priests and clergy, is permitted by the law of God to preach the gospel, privately to their neighbours?' (page 141.)

I answer, that none but the bishop, the priest, and the deacon, who is set apart, ordained, and consecrated to the office, may teach or preach in the name of the Church, which can alone, according to Christ's own ordinance, give them authority to do so. But I affirm my belief also, that John Nokes, who is a Christian, is ever permitted by the same law of God to say to John Styles, who may be a profligate and blaspheming neighbour, 'Thou art a sinful man, my brother; repent, and be converted,

that thy sins may be pardoned, and thy spirit be changed, and live.' Will Mr. Maitland deny this? Is not episcopal authority, rightly understood, perfectly consistent with the Christian duty of private exhortation, and with the privilege of Christian conversation?

Here, then, I end my brief notice of Mr. Maitland's '*Six more Letters.*' I am now brought to his letter in the British Magazine of this month.

This letter, I observe, consists of eight pages. They refer, however, to the real and supposed errors of the editor, with which I have nothing to do. The only points which it may be necessary for me to notice, are, an omission by Foxe, which is quoted to impugn his impartiality, and a personal observation respecting myself.

The crime alleged against Foxe is, that in drawing up the articles of impeachment against a man who was burned, Foxe mentions the man's opinions against pilgrimages, transubstantiation, auricular confession, and other points of this nature; but he did not insert in the list the accusation, that the man taught the non-necessity of the sacraments to salvation.

Foxe, I answer, was guilty of the fault which almost every writer of biography, excepting the inspired writers, has committed, of concealing the faults of those whom he eulogizes. He ought to have mentioned the article which he has omitted; and it is certain that many of the martyrs who were burned held opinions which the Church of England now condemns. But it is no less true, that the man would have been burned if he had denied transubstantiation, even if he had maintained to the utmost the validity of the sacraments. Mr. Maitland cannot rail the seal off the bond. Foxe wrote to hold up to reprobation the cruelty, treachery, and abominations of Rome. Mr. Maitland and his friends hate the principles of Foxe more than they hate his language. They discover many, very many indefensible faults in his voluminous work; and they are saving the Papists much trouble, while they are giving them also much satisfaction, by their incessant abuse of the martyrologist. I trust they will

proceed. The wheat will be sifted from the chaff, and Foxe, I believe, will be more honoured by our posterity than he was even venerated by our ancestors, as the result of the controversy.

Mr. Maitland has made one or two personal remarks on myself, which I deem it worth while to notice. He derides my catalogue of the names of those who have eulogized Foxe, as being put forward with '*childish parade*;' and he laughs at the mentioning of the name of the puritan Neal among them. He is pleased to remind me that '*praise is of no value, if it come, not from the praised, but from the dunce, the partisan, or the parasite.*'

My catalogue of names includes some of the best and most honoured, from Whitgift, the archbishop contemporary with Foxe, to Howley, the contemporary of Maitland. I found Neal among the eulogizers of Foxe; and I would not omit him. He was a coarse and partial writer, who read history through the green spectacles of his own opinions; but he was not a wilful liar. I am fully sensible of the value of the maxim *laudari a laudatis*, which Mr. Maitland has quoted, though I hope we shall both obtain higher praise, when our account is rendered, than that of the most highly-lauded from among our brethren. I am sorely tempted, when I read the crushing contempt with which the highly and deservedly-praised Mr. Faber has treated Mr. Maitland, and remember the various and numerous eulogies which have been heaped upon Mr. Maitland by others, to analyze the worthiness of those who have praised him, and to assist him in the inquiry whether his laurels have been entwined round his brow by the praised or by the dunce, by the partisan or the parasite. But I forbear doing so, and conclude my letter by informing Mr. Maitland, as to the '*childish parade*' of my quotations, and as to the present controversy in general, that though we have not wit enough to please the public, nor learning enough to interest them, I trust we shall have so much good sense as to avoid becoming ridiculous, merely to entertain them. Let me add, also, that I have much higher, nobler, worthier objects claiming and receiving my attention than this controversy; and that I earnestly recommend him to employ his undoubted talents,

in imitation of my example, on matters which he may reflect upon with greater pleasure at the last, than in winning the approbation of the papist and the tractarian, and obtaining the contempt and disgust of the protestant, yet catholic churchman.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient Servant,

GEO. TOWNSEND.

College, Durham, Dec. 7, 1841.

P.S.—Since I wrote the above, Mr. Maitland has published the first number of his Notes on my contributions to the Preface to the new edition of John Foxe. He has, however, done so through Mr. Rivington. I shall therefore request Mr. Rivington to publish my reply. The papers Mr. Maitland sends to the British Magazine, I shall beg the Editor to permit me to answer through the same channel. Those which he publishes in other quarters I shall also answer through the same medium. I do not speak presumptuously, though I speak boldly and confidently, from the conviction of my love of truth and of the justice of my cause, when I say that I throw down the gauntlet both to Mr. Maitland, to the Editor of the Record,—who has also assailed me,—and to every other antagonist of any name, sect, or party, who assails the general propositions which I have undertaken to defend. The errors which disgrace Mr. Maitland's 'Notes on my Contributions' are (to use his own expression) '*very remarkable.*' If Mr. Rivington refuses to publish my reply to Mr. Maitland, I must seek some other portion of the yet unpoisoned press; I say this, for though my dear friend, his venerable father, published my Arrangement of the Bible, his son, in his honourable (though in this instance, I think, ill-judged) zeal for what he wrongly deemed the interest of the Church, refused to publish my Charge to the Clergy of Northallerton, against Tract No. 80, on Preaching the Atonement with Reserve. He was the London publisher of the Tracts. I then called upon the bishops to do that which their own wisdom (not the knowledge of my humble labour) has since induced them to do. I accept the fact as an earnest that the Church, by God's mercy, will stay the plague which is begun.

If the bishops will but do their duty, the catholic church in England, which protests against the errors and the novelties both of Geneva and of Rome, will be preserved as the salt of the earth, —the leaven which shall leaven the whole mass of mankind."

III.

MR. CATTLEY'S LETTER, FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE FOR
JANUARY, 1842.

"SIR,—Mr. Maitland, in the last Number of the British Magazine, has charged me either with stupidity or dishonesty¹, in consequence of my assuming that your correspondent² 'W. B.' had used Foxe's edition of 1583, in collating a passage in one account of 'John Brown,' with a copy of the life of the same man in my edition. In reply, I must refer Mr. Maitland to the notice appended to Vol. II., which distinctly stated, that 'the present work³ is a *reprint* of the *fourth* edition of the original work of John Foxe, published in 1583, with the exception of certain passages introduced from the first three English editions, and from the fifth.'" Now as these several editions vary in many particulars, and my edition is stated to be a *reprint of a specified and particular edition*, in whom exists the 'stupidity or dishonesty?' in 'W. B.' for comparing my edition with a very abbreviated and curtailed edition, like that of 1576; or in *me*, who, naturally enough, supposed that 'W. B.' would have followed the edition of 1583, of which mine was an *avowed reprint*? I have said before⁴, that in the four standard editions of the Acts and Monuments, from 1570 to 1596, the story of John Brown may be found as I have given it⁵. I subjoin the references. Edition

¹ Brit. Mag. No. CXXI. p. 603 (printed 60.)

² Acts and Monuments, 1836—41. Vol. I. p. 491. Prelim. Dissertation.

³ Edition of the Acts and Monuments, 1836—41.

⁴ Vol. V. p. 694.

⁵ Vol. IV. p. 181.

1570, page 927 ; edition 1596, page 736 ; edition 1583, page 805. But, Sir, how will Mr. Maitland complacently resume his pen, when he finds that I make *no* reference to the edition of 1576, or to any more editions? And how singular that this should be the only edition to which Mr. Maitland should have access now, when there were times⁶ in which most of the early editions of John Foxe were on his desk! How will his pulse beat when he finds that I *have* actually made 'a mistake',⁷ in saying that my account of John Brown is in the corresponding place of *the edition* of 1576, when I find that the editor of that abbreviated edition (who appears to be R. Daye⁸) has wisely omitted, as I have done, one of two accounts of the same story. Yes, I *have* absolutely omitted one of two accounts, and Mr. Maitland is displeased! Had I inserted them both, Mr. Maitland would have charged me, as he does my friend Mr. Townsend, with 'childish parade'.⁹ I cannot occupy my time, or your pages, with any more of this foolish controversy.

Your obedient servant,

STEPHEN REED CATTLEY."

Fulham.

IV.

MR. MAITLAND'S LETTER, FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE FOR
FEBRUARY, 1842.

"MY DEAR SIR,—If Mr. Townsend thinks his 'brief notice' of my 'Six more Letters' a sufficient reply, he is quite welcome to his opinion. The Letters are before the public, and in a particular manner before the readers of the British Magazine, who may find them in their numbers beginning with December 1837. If,

⁶ See his former letters on the same subject in the British Magazine.

⁷ Brit. Mag. No. CXXI. p. 603 (printed 60.)

⁸ Edition 1576, p. 2009.

⁹ Brit. Mag. No. CXXI. p. 607.

now that he is dragged into an acknowledgment of their existence, this is the worst that Mr. Townsend can say, I have no reason to complain.

As it is not, however, to be expected that many readers will take that trouble, it is necessary to tell them that Mr. Townsend misrepresents what I have said.

He says, for instance, that I express 'profound contempt' for the Letter of Lucifer, which is reprinted in vol. iii. p. 190, of the new edition of Fox, and which I have noticed at p. 95, of my Letters, and adds, that in a publication of his own he has 'called it a severe and bitter libel.' I expressed no contempt; and whether it is a libel or not has nothing whatever to do with the question. His obvious drift in this, as well as in his talk about 'courteous language,' and 'silky sons,' and his allusion to the unforgiven tractarians, is to give his readers the impression that the 'severe libel' had been objected to out of tenderness to the Romish church. This is pure misrepresentation, without a word to give colour or excuse. I objected to a jeering letter, written in the name of Satan, as 'profane jesting,' and because I do not think that hell and damnation are fit subjects for burlesque. I asked, 'Can any man who believes in the existence of Satan as a reality, cordially enter into the fun of 'the device or counterfeit of a certain letter,' &c.?' I asked, 'Can any Christian man, I do not say admire, but *dare to vindicate* such ribaldry as ' what I proceeded to quote, and need not here repeat. I believe that I said nothing but what I might have said, and should have said, if the letter had been written by a papist against the protestants. If Mr. Townsend is not ashamed to see it, and some other blasphemous things, reprinted for popular use and parochial circulation, without a hint of censure, in a book that bears his name on the title page, I think he ought to be. My object, however, is to warn the reader against his misrepresentations; and to show a specimen of the means which are used to get up, and keep up, the notion, that to censure what Fox has written is to apologize for Rome.

Mr. Townsend expresses surprise at my conceiving it possible that what Fox says about bishops and prelates can 'injure the cause of the church' in the present day; and thinks I might have paused before I imagined the possibility of anybody's applying the language of Fox to the prelates of the present day.

Some persons will perhaps recollect that the letter of Mr. Pratt, Mr. Bickersteth, and Mr. Bridges, was intended to conduce to 'the more *extended circulation* of this improved edition.' That they hoped that 'the sound principles of the protestant Reformation would be *effectually disseminated* through this medium;' the medium being more particularly through the presentation of this new edition by wealthy Christians to the younger, and to the Irish, clergy; and this suggestion being prefaced by an account of a clergyman who had determined to take two copies, one to lend 'throughout his parish, and ultimately to place in his parochial library.' In short, it was to be, and is to be, made a book 'for the people,' as the modern phrase runs. It may be, perhaps, because I am what Mr. Townsend calls a 'silky son,' too fond of 'courteous language,' that I should not wish all classes of the community to get familiar with such epithets as 'blind, bloody, beastly bishops,' even if they neither applied them wholesale to the present bench, nor sorted them out for individual application.

But this is not the matter; and I need not here repeat what I have said in my twelfth letter. Mr. Townsend knows that there is other language in Fox, besides that of sneer and invective and coarse abuse, directed against the whole crew of prancing prelates. He knows that there is language more objectionable, which has nothing to do with martyr-burning, and which is just as applicable to the prelates of the present day as it was to Arundel or Courtenay, Gardiner or Bonner, because it strikes at the root of episcopacy, and represents it as an usurpation and tyranny in the church. If those who are eager to circulate the work in parishes take no pains to explain to the people that *they* do not consider the 'placing proud prelates the cause of all mischief,' will it not

be supposed that they hold the sentiments which they are so anxious to make known? Must it not seem that this doctrine is considered as one of 'the sound principles of the Protestant Reformation?' *Is there any one thing in the book more obvious than its Presbyterianism?* Surely those who are zealous to give 'extended circulation' to such a work among the younger clergy and their parishioners, with high panegyric of its principles, and not one word of difference or censure, *are* likely to 'injure the cause of the church,' and it is a waste of words to argue about the matter.

I proceed, however, to point out another misrepresentation of a bolder character. Mr. Townsend says—

'Mr. Maitland inquires whether Mr. Townsend will vindicate an expression of a man named Purvey approved by Foxe, 'that every Christian as well as the priests and clergy is permitted by the law of God to preach the gospel privately to their neighbours,' ' p. 141.

Any body would suppose that the 'expression' which Mr. Townsend has marked by inverted commas, was given in Purvey's words, and that they were to be found at p. 141 of my Letters. No such thing. If Mr. Townsend intends to maintain that Purvey meant to speak of only *private* exhortation, and did *not* mean to teach that *every* Christian was equally a priest and had *equal commission and authority* to preach the gospel *publicly*, let him do so. It is obviously absurd; but he must vindicate in his own fashion. He must not, however, foist in the word 'privately,' just by way of begging the question, and settling it quietly. I have often wished that he and his kinsmen would publish a list of their subscribers, marking with asterisks the names of those for whom, more especially, they design their arguments, notes, illustrations, and other diversions. They must be odd people, and one would like to know them. Does he really expect to persuade any body who is likely to read the British Magazine, that I ever denied the right of John Nokes to say to John Styles, if he is a profligate and blasphemer, 'Thou art a sinful man, my brother?' It is really rather too much to expect.

In my paper to which Mr. Townsend's letter is more particularly an answer, he finds only two points which require notice.

The first is, Fox's omission in relating the history of John Browne. On this he says, boldly, 'Fox, I answer, *was guilty* of the fault which almost every writer of biography, except the inspired writers, has committed, *of concealing the faults of those whom he eulogizes.*' Very well. When the Vindicator says this, what need I say? What have I ever said half so bad, so sweeping, so destructive of the character of an historian and biographer? Of course I could not expect such an answer from the Vindicator, after Mr. Pratt, Mr. Bickersteth, and Mr. Bridges, had vouched for 'the high character of the work for ACCURACY OF DETAIL;' and the publishers had declared in their prospectus, that, 'high as is the character which he deservedly maintains for VERACITY and CORRECTNESS, still Fox has not been without assailants. The publishers are therefore gratified to be able to announce that the present edition will be prefaced by a FULL VINDICATION of the pious martyrologist from these various attacks. That duty has been undertaken by the Rev. George Townsend¹.' And thus the duty is performed. We are told that it was Fox's way. A pleasant vindication, considering that his book consists in so great a degree of the biography of those whom he eulogizes. And yet Mr. Townsend does not venture to say that it was *quite* right. 'He ought to have *mentioned* the article which he has omitted.' Yes, considering that he did not profess to be reporting mere hearsay, but quoting from the Archbishop's Register; and considering, too, that even in the eyes of the bloodthirsty papists (Dean Colet included) the rejec-

¹ I copy this as it stands in the prospectus, dated May 24, 1836. Perhaps the publishers will almost wish that they had left the passage as it stood in the earlier (I believe, original) prospectus of May 2:—"The present edition will therefore be prefaced by a full vindication of the respected and pious martyrologist against the many attacks which have at various periods been made upon him, from the pen of the Rev. George Townsend," &c. It seems as if it would be almost a necessary part of the Appendix.

tion of baptism was considered, in some degree, heretical, it should at least have been mentioned². 'Eleven years' (says Mr. Townsend—I wish he could get over his aversion to dates, and tell us what years) 'were carefully and anxiously devoted to the arrangement of materials which were transmitted to him from all quarters; in examining the registers of the bishops, and other authentic records of the facts and events he was to relate³.' But was it to garble what suited his purpose from what made against it? 'Fox wrote,' Mr. Townsend tells us, 'to hold up to reprobation the cruelty, treachery, and abominations of Rome.' I dare say he did, and that such an object might be better attained by concealing the heresies and sins of those whom Rome destroyed; but then let the book take its proper place, and show its true colours. Let it not be palmed upon us as an historical work, particularly characterized by 'accuracy of detail,' by 'veracity and correctness.'

But after running away from the specific point where vindication is called for, Mr. Townsend faces about, and throws down the gauntlet in defence of some 'two general propositions.' I profess to you, Sir, I know not what he means. The only proposition that I care about is a very particular one—namely, that he would fully vindicate the veracity and correctness of the martyrologist. It is with Mr. Townsend, as the Vindicator of Fox, that I have to do; and I have a good deal of matter, which I hope to lay before him in that character, and which (as I stated) I avoided entering upon in my Letters, because it related to the department which he had undertaken. Beside other statements of a similar nature, I said, in the page 141 which has been already referred to, 'I wait to see how matters, *to which I have as yet*

² After the word "omitted," just quoted above, Mr. Townsend goes on to say, "And it is certain that *many* of the martyrs who were burned held opinions which the church of England *now* condemns." Taken in any way, this passage is remarkable; but can he mean that there ever was a time when the church of England did not condemn the rejection of baptism?

³ Vol. I. p. 28.

scarcely alluded, are vindicated.' I do see, and am astonished; and I hope to discuss a good many points in the form of notes on Mr. Townsend's contributions. His prompt announcement of a reply to the first part of these has prevented my being in a hurry to publish the second; but certainly I have no more present intention of attacking any general propositions which Mr. Townsend may have made, than I have of adopting his particular proposition, that we should both set to work about something else, 'higher, nobler, worthier,' and not trouble ourselves about Fox at all. After having been so many years so publicly, so repeatedly, pledged to the business, and wrought so much in it, has he just found out that it is so trumpery as not to be worth his attention? Or has he begun to discover that rigmarole and personal reflection will not carry ignorance through when it is so incautious as to desert 'general propositions,' and deal with matters of fact?

As to personal remarks, I think that those who have seen what Mr. Townsend has thought proper to write about me, and about others who may justly be thought more unfit subjects for his impertinence, will not think that he has much ground of complaint. For my own part, I had not written an uncourteous word of Mr. Townsend. He had done nothing to offend me, and to provoke my resentment, or given me ground or pretence for saying anything that could offend him; and I thought I had succeeded in preserving that species of neutral courtesy which, when there is nothing to prevent it, I am peculiarly anxious to maintain inviolate where I do not feel respect. Neither have I ever had any such acquaintance with Mr. Townsend as might account for his familiarity. Of course, I thought his coming forth 'with great solemnity of justing,' to distribute his praise and censure, very ridiculous; and could only suppose that he was acting under some mistake as to his place in the literary world. Surely it must be, as I have said, that he considers a puff from one person as good as a puff from another, or he would never have stooped to pick up Neal's eulogy of Fox. In his reply, he tells us, that

Neal 'was a coarse and partial writer, who read history through the green spectacles of his own opinions, but he was not a wilful liar.' This may be Mr. Townsend's opinion. Southey has characterized Neal as the 'most prejudiced and dishonest of all historians⁴.' Surely even those who prefer the authority of Mr. Townsend will admit that praise from such a person as he describes, bestowed on a partisan, is not worth picking up, except as it adds a name in a 'childish parade' of authorities, or a dishonest attempt to deceive ignorant readers. I do not know that there is anything else in Mr. Townsend's letter which requires notice.

As to Mr. Cattley's letter, I will at present only say that it admits of but one species of reply, and *that* such as I should be sorry to make without having given him the option of withdrawing it, and substituting another letter in your next Number. He may be assured, that though I think it right to point out his blunders, and do it without the pain which I should feel for any one who seemed as if he could feel for himself, yet there is a species of exposure which I would gladly allow him to escape. Let him consult his friends; in particular (if I may venture to recommend) the three gentlemen who came forward as his vouchers in the 'Record' at first, and who have stood by him unflinchingly ever since. Should you, Mr. Editor, agree to this arrangement, and not receive any communication from Mr. Cattley, during the first half of the ensuing month, you will perhaps have the goodness to let me know; or if you do receive one for publication, and intended to supersede that which has already appeared, you will perhaps communicate its contents to me, in order that what I may think it proper to say, in the way of reply, may appear at the same time.

At any rate, even if he is satisfied that his letter should stand, I must beg that Mr. Cattley will not think of running away from 'this foolish controversy' without fully explaining what he has

⁴ Book of the Church, Vol. II. p. 309.

said of my having made an offer of assistance, and naming the person through whom, as he states, some such offer was made.

I am, &c.

S. R. MAITLAND."

V.

MR. TOWNSEND'S LETTER, FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE FOR
MARCH, 1842.

"SIR,—Mr. Maitland has given to your readers five pages of reply to my letter. I have read them carefully through, and reply to them according to my promise. There are eight propositions, which alone I deem it necessary to notice; and that in as many sentences. I am anxious to spare myself trouble, and to save the time of your readers.

1. *Mr. Townsend defends the letter from the Prince of Darkness to the papist bishops, recorded by Foxe, thanking them for peopling his dominions.*

Mr. Townsend neither attacks nor defends it: he describes only the state of things which produced it.

2. *Foxe's opinions on bishops may be deemed injurious to the present bishops: and they ought not therefore to be published.*

The papist bishops, when Foxe lived, were the uniform unrelenting persecutors of the church of Christ. Therefore Foxe spoke too unreservedly of their order; but Foxe was the friend of his patrons, Parkhurst, Whitgift, Pilkington, and other bishops. They did not deem his work to be injurious to episcopacy. Why should we do so? Who but Mr. Maitland will imagine that the lance aimed at Bonner and Gardiner will injure Bloomfield and Howley?

3. *Presbyterianism is obvious in Foxe.*

Will Mr. Maitland refer to the passages in which any other form of church government than that by bishops is defended by the martyrologist?

4. *The publishers promised the subscribers that Mr. Townsend would write a full vindication.*

Does Mr. Maitland imagine (dull, dense, and stupid as he imagines me to be) that I undertook to vindicate every page, line, sentence, affirmation, opinion, and doctrine of John Foxe? Could any book or author endure such an ordeal? The Martyrology consists of a mass of matter three times the amount of Hume's History of England. I have given a general vindication of Foxe against thirteen modern and ancient authors.

5. *Mr. Townsend cannot mention the dates of the eleven years during which Foxe was engaged on his work.*

I have mentioned them in my "Remarks on Mr. Maitland's Errors," in his "Notes to Number one of my Contributions to the Preface." Foxe, I have there shewn, began his labours at Reigate in 1553. One edition of the earlier part of his work was published at Strasburg in 1554; another at Basil in 1559. But the English edition of his completed work was published in the commencement of the eleventh year from the first date I have mentioned.

6. This I must give in Mr. Maitland's refined, courteous, gentlemanly language—"Rigmarole and personal reflections will not carry ignorance through when it is so incautious as to desert general propositions for matters of fact."

Rigmarole and ignorance! Rigmarole and ignorance! Rigmarole and ignorance! My gentle reader, have I not reason to admire Mr. Maitland's candour more than I admire his manners? Shall I not apply to him, with a little alteration, the words of Pope?

"Go on, obliging writer, make me see
All that adorns thy pages meet in me?"

Mr. Maitland, I have the honour to be your obedient, and faithful, humble servant. I do not object to any severity of

language from you ; for I, as you justly say, 'began this warfare first,' when I applied to you, in my indignation at your attacks on John Foxe, the epithets of traitor and apostate to the cause of the church of Christ. I first adopted language of this nature. I am bound, therefore, to make my bow in silence, when my own severity is thus retorted upon me. Pray, proceed !

7. *Mr. Townsend can have no ground of complaint, when Mr. Maitland adopts uncourteous language ; for he began first.*

It is very true, my friend ; and if you, the librarian, at Lambeth, the scholar, gentleman, clergyman, and protestant (for until you become papist you cannot get rid of that unpopular word), will persevere to be found among the ranks of the papal antagonists of the martyrologist, who first published an Ecclesiastical History in our own language, and did his best to improve and inform his countrymen, so long the arrows which are aimed at that enemy will pierce the joints of your armour.

8. *Mr. Townsend is acting under some mistake as to his place in the literary world.*

Mr. Townsend is under no mistake in the matter. He feels and knows his place to be exactly where Mr. Maitland would assign it—last, least, lowest, among those who endeavour, not to amuse, but, before he dies, to benefit the world. I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

GEO. TOWNSEND."

College, Durham, Feb. 3, 1842."

VI.

MR. MAITLAND'S LETTER, FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE FOR
MARCH, 1842.

"MY DEAR SIR,—As Mr. Cattley does not think it right to alter or qualify any of the statements contained in his letter published in the British Magazine for January, I beg leave to offer the following remarks on some of them.

(1.) Mr. Cattley says, 'How singular that this' [the 1576] 'should be the only edition to which Mr. Maitland should have access now, when there were times in which most of the early editions of John Foxe were on his desk!'—and on the word 'times' in this sentence he puts a note, 'See his former letters on the same subject in the British Magazine.'

Of course the insinuation is that I have told a lie; and that in fact I had, or might easily have obtained, access to books which I had been in the habit of using, but that it suited my purpose to pretend that I could not refer to them.

Now, in the first place, I did not say what Mr. Cattley pretends; but only, 'I have not at present access to the editions of 1563 and 1570, and therefore cannot say anything about them; but that of 1576 is on my desk.' What strange infatuation can lead Mr. Cattley to say such things as he does? Is he not aware that if I had had access to the editions of 1563 and 1570 I might have shewn that he was guilty of the same falsehood with regard to *each* of them, as I did shew with respect to the edition of 1576?

Again, it may suit Mr. Cattley's purpose to represent (in spite of my repeated assertions) that the errors pointed out in my letters were the fruit of great research and laborious collation; but if he wishes to maintain any character for veracity, let him produce from those letters any (I will not say proof, but any) pretext, or colour, for saying that I had ever seen any one page printed in the lifetime of John Fox, except the first volume of the *fourth* English edition of 1583. To this hour I am not aware of

having seen the second volume ; but I luckily met with this odd first volume just after Mr. Cattley had begun his publication, the only copy which I possessed before being of the more recent edition of 1596.

(2.) So long as it was believed that the edition of 1576 would countenance Mr. Cattley's statements, it was a 'standard' edition—one of 'the five editions which the illustrious martyrologist himself revised.' Now that it is found to contradict them, it is such a 'very abbreviated and curtailed edition' that there is 'stupidity and dishonesty' in comparing the new edition with it.

(3.) Mr. Cattley says, 'The editor of that abbreviated edition (who appears to be R. Daye) has wisely omitted, *as I have done*, one of two accounts of the same story.' With this difference, however, that he inserted one version, and Mr. Cattley the other; and even Mr. Cattley himself will not venture to deny that R. Daye's version is the most correct of the two. It will, however, be seen, that R. Daye (or whoever was the editor) 'omitted' nothing; but gave the only version which had then appeared.

(4.) Mr. Cattley goes on to say—'Yes, I *have* absolutely omitted one of two accounts, and Mr. Maitland is displeased! Had I inserted them both, Mr. Maitland would have charged me, as he does my friend, Mr. Townsend, with 'childish parade.' It is obvious that I neither said, nor insinuated, that Mr. Cattley was to blame for omitting one of the two accounts; and, tiresome as it is to notice such petty misrepresentations, it is quite necessary to do so, for those who observe (as well as those who use) the baser arts of controversy know how easy it is, by such means to mislead a reader, and misrepresent the whole of a question.

(5.) The principal matter, however, which requires notice in Mr. Cattley's letter, is what he says respecting these two versions of the story of John Browne, of Ashford.

In his attack on 'W. B.,' contained in first volume of the new edition, p. 490, Mr. Cattley told him that he might find the version which he has given in the new edition, 'in all the FIVE editions which the illustrious martyrologist himself revised.'

I called on Mr. Cattley to specify the pages of those FIVE editions where his version of the story was to be found.

He answers: 'I said before, that in the FOUR standard editions of the Acts and Monuments from 1570 to 1596, the story of John Brown may be found as I have given it.' True; he did say so *before*—that is, in a note in the fifth volume of the Martyrology, published about three years ago; but he knows that we are talking of what he has said just now in the first volume—after that interval, after all the collation of all the editions of which he boasts; now, when he comes forward to bring a charge of wilful and deliberate lying, he says FIVE—but if he is afraid to allude even to that, and falls back on his former incidental statement of FOUR, let us see the pages.

He says, 'I subjoin the references. Edition 1570, p. 927; edition 1596, p. 736; edition 1583, p. 804.' He acknowledges that his version is not in the edition of 1576; and so the FOUR dwindle to THREE.

I believe the first of these references to be entirely fallacious; and that the THREE must be reduced to TWO—that the 'edition 1570, p. 927,' contains nothing but matter wholly foreign⁴—that that edition *nowhere* contains the story as Mr. Cattley has given it—that in a distant part of the volume (p. 1480) it *does* contain that version of the story which Mr. Cattley has *not* given.

I am, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

S. R. MAITLAND."

⁴ "Any one who takes the fourth volume of the new edition may see what that page does contain by reading from 'Tours in France,' in the bottom line of p. 172, down to 'utterly denied confes-,' about the middle (line 22) of p. 175. I am indebted for what information I have respecting the edition of 1570 to the Rev. F. W. Collison, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, who kindly examined the copy belonging to the University library."

VII.

MR. MAITLAND'S LETTER, FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE FOR
APRIL, 1842.

“MY DEAR SIR,—It seems as if Mr. Townsend wrote without recollecting the high probability that those who read what he wrote for the Magazine of March might be the same persons who had read what I wrote in that of February; and that therefore he cannot expect to persuade them that I said what I did not say, or evade, without observation, what I did say. I have no great fear of his imposing on you, or many of your readers, when he represents what I said of the Letter of Lucifer as a ‘proposition,’ that ‘Mr. Townsend defends the letter from the Prince of Darkness to the papist bishops, recorded by Foxe, thanking them for peopling his dominions.’

I need not here reprint my words. Any one who looks at them will see that they contained no such charge; but that they did contain another charge, which Mr. Townsend has not ventured to meet. My charge was—not that he defended or attacked the letter, but that he grossly misrepresented my attack on it. That, whereas I had objected to it simply and solely on the ground that it was profane and impious ribaldry, he had represented me as expressing ‘contempt’ for it, viewed as a ‘libel’ on the papists, whose cause he would have his readers believe I was pleading. This was the charge; and this he has not dared to meet. I repeat it; and I add, that it is part of a system of a habitual misrepresentation. It is part of an attempt to carry his point, by turning a question of facts, about which he has not sufficient information to maintain a controversy, into a personal and party question. Whatever he may say now, he cannot unprint his Vindication of Fox, which stands as a witness that he began his part of the controversy—not, as he pretends, with the severity of indignant rebuke, rising with pardonable fervor into a neglect of form and courtesy, and all but truth; no such thing, Sir, and if it had been so, one would like a man all the better for it, but—with a mean attempt to excite personal odium, to injure

private character, and to get up a rabble cry of party. Suppose, Sir, that I am ungrateful—nay, put the horrid vice in its most horrid form, in which it so appalled Mr. Townsend, ungrateful even for preferment—what business is it of his, and what has it to do with Fox¹?

Again, Sir, I think I may ask (without noticing Mr. Townsend's frivolous answer to Mr. Churton's plain question), what have I to do with the Oxford Tracts? How am I responsible for, or concerned with, No. 80 or No. 90? I did not write them, and have never read them; and as to Mr. Townsend's 'entire Charge to the Clergy,' by which he 'publicly and officially' condemned many of the Oxford tracts, I am not aware that I ever saw it, or heard any man, woman, or child, speak as if he, she, or it had either heard or read it. The only possible pretext for connecting my name with the Oxford Tracts at all is, that, with regard to one of them, I published a small pamphlet, expressing in the strongest terms my dissent from its doctrine, and my conviction of its most mischievous tendency. I believe that, except in this pamphlet, no man can find, in anything that I have written, any quotation from, or reference to, any one of the tracts, or any proof that I had ever read one of them. In saying this, I mean no disrespect to the authors of the tracts; but it is a mere fact that my hands have been so full of other matters, appearing more clearly to demand my attention, that I have scarcely read anything that has been published since the tracts began, and have never had anything like the leisure, or the courage, to undertake such an addition to what seem to me plainer duties, as the investigation of a controversy embracing so many difficult points, and one with which I do not seem to be particularly called on to

¹ A man who gets into the dirt with the single effect of dirtying himself, must expect to be laughed at; and it is besides a just punishment of Mr. Townsend's habitual carelessness about chronology. If he had attended to that, he might have known that every line of what he comments on had been published *before* I was even offered the office which I now hold. Read with the knowledge of this fact, Mr. Townsend's effusions on the matter are very amusing.

meddle. Why, then, does Mr. Townsend talk to me about the Tractarians? Why did he not attack me about the corn laws, or the Diorama in the Regent's Park, now open from ten till dusk, or any of the other things of which I know nothing but what I gather from hearsay or newspaper advertisements? He might as well do it, except that these things would not move the sympathy of the subscribers who have paid for his lucubrations²: while he knows that they will conceive an intense prejudice against anybody whom they are taught to consider as a Tractarian, a traitor, a renegade, and a papist; and he is so clever and so fortunate in hitting on this point, that it not only serves to create prejudice against me, but gives him an opportunity of publishing over and over again the famous Charge which his dear friend Mr. Rivington's degenerate son would not publish at all.

I repeat, Sir, that this talk about the Oxford Tracts is all mere trick—a trick which, by an odd sort of retribution, has just been played on Mr. Townsend himself by the party who employed him, and who, having done with his name, have given him a very abrupt dismissal, just hinting to the subscribers, in very intelligible terms, that the gentleman who has written the Vindication is something very much like an Owenite. I dare say that such a suggestion has answered their purpose better than a volume of argument; but Mr. Townsend did not like it at all. He told them it was ‘disrespectful;’ and I suppose they laughed³.

² Though as the Record, by a nice distinction, from which I hope we may derive comfort, assures us, we have not subscribed to them.

³ “How could you,” says Mr. Townsend, in his reply, “be guilty of the offensive and disrespectful conduct of coupling my name with that of the infidel Owen? How could you imagine for a moment that there could be any similarity between the views of the humble and undoubting Christian and those of that presumptuous charlatan? It is well for me that, though I hope I feel a stain like a wound, I am ‘armed so strong in honesty’ that I do not feel an accusation to be a disgrace. If I was not too well known among my people, I should be disgraced and dishonoured by your recklessness.” There is a good deal of simplicity in Mr. Townsend's question, who really does not seem to recognise the dirty artifice which he had thought it so clever to practise, by coupling my name with that of Eusebius Andrews.

2. With regard to the second proposition, I feel it quite unnecessary to add anything to what I said before. Mr. Townsend's eagerness to convict me of saying what might seem disrespectful to great men is very amusing and characteristic; but it cannot need a reply. Mr. Townsend's notions and mine of what is respectful in dealing with one's superiors are obviously different.

3. Mr. Townsend asks me to refer to the passages in Fox in which any other form of church government than that by bishops is defended by the martyrologist.

Some years ago, some Unitarian subscribers to the Bible Society circulated its books with a paper pasted inside the cover, offering a reward to any body who could find the word 'Trinity' any where in the whole volume. Mr. Townsend's cavil is much the same; though there certainly are some things in his writings which make me believe that the apparent ignorance is at least in part sincere and unaffected, and not merely a trick to throw dust in the eyes of ignorant or inconsiderate readers. There were some peculiarities in the case of Fox which might lead us to expect a greater degree of inconsistency in his works than in those of most of his friends; for he was one of the very few non-conformist writers who held preferment in the church. But, independent of this, (which, of course, set him farther off violent measures than many of his party,) the Puritans were notoriously of two classes, whom I may perhaps be allowed to call the Elizabethan and the Mar-prelate. The latter wrote books recommending other forms of government plainly enough, and got hanged for it. But the former, among whom Fox was one of the most devoted, could tolerate the existence of proud prelates as a human ordinance, if the Queen's highness might frock and unfrock them at her pleasure; and if, to the utter defacing of the pope and 'his byrdes,' her Majesty had chosen to deny that he was 'Christ's vicar on earth,' and to take the title herself, I do not suppose that Fox would have made any objection. But the question is not whether, under certain circumstances, Fox could tolerate bishops, or whether he did openly attack the church government, of which the Queen's highness was the head; but

whether a book continually railing in the coarsest and most comprehensive terms against bishops, bishops in general, even if that railing could be accounted for, as Mr. Townsend pretends, by the fact (if it were a fact) that the 'papist bishops, when Foxe lived, were the uniform unrelenting persecutors of the church of Christ;' whether a work which does indeed, as Mr. Townsend admits, speak 'too unreservedly of their order' (nice vindication) is, or is not, of presbyterian tendency? Is it necessary, in order to our considering a book to have a plainly democratic tendency, that it should contain a formal recommendation and defence of any other form of government than that by kings? Is it not sufficient, if it speaks so 'unreservedly of their order' as to set them forth on all occasions as 'blind, bloody, beastly' tyrants, unrelenting persecutors of the people, so selfishly—nay, so wantonly cruel—in all things so particularly diabolical, that one is irresistibly led to speculate on the probable cause which could render so many individuals of different countries and ages so much worse than the rest of their race?

4. The fourth paragraph is, like too much of what Mr. Townsend has been driven to write on this subject, a misrepresentation calculated simply for those who do not know the facts in dispute. How injurious to call on him to vindicate every 'line' in 'a mass of matter three times the amount of Hume's History of England.' It is hardly conceivable how Mr. Townsend could descend to such a misrepresentation. Did he wish his readers to understand that even Fox himself was responsible for every line *in that quantity of matter*? I do not believe that any body can tell how much would remain if the various documents, tracts, and even books, professedly or notoriously written by other persons, were withdrawn from that 'mass of matter.' There was, no doubt, some degree of responsibility incurred by Fox when he published it, but not of a kind that would bind even him to vindicate every page and every line. Still less has Mr. Townsend been called on to do any such thing. It would of course have been unfair and absurd to do it; and because it would have been unfair and absurd, he wishes to represent it as having been done;

and it is one of the most troublesome parts of controversy so conducted, (I mean, with the perpetual recurrence of petty misrepresentations, often the mere fruit of a guilty carelessness, yet often such as charity itself hardly knows how to put in that class,) that unless little misrepresentations are pointed out, and contradicted immediately, they are subsequently taken advantage of by those who use them, and are assumed as matters of fact and grounds of argument. In the January number, p. 26, Mr. Townsend said, 'Mr. Maitland inquires whether Mr. Townsend will vindicate an expression of a man named Purvey, approved by Foxe, 'that every Christian, as well as the priests and clergy, is permitted by the law of God to preach the gospel *privately* to their neighbours.''' In my reply, (Number for February, p. 147,) I charged Mr. Townsend with falsifying this passage, (which he put in inverted commas, and pretended to be an expression of John Purvey, and to which he added a reference to p. 141 of my Letters,) by foisting in the word 'privately;' a charge which I should think any man of integrity must feel to require immediate confession, contradiction, or explanation. But to this charge Mr. Townsend does not venture to allude; while he complains of being required to vindicate every line in the great mass of matter. To meet this, it is necessary to notice another misstatement in Mr. Townsend's words just quoted, which I did not before embarrass the question by pointing out; but I might have said, and it now seems necessary to say, that I did *not* inquire whether Mr. Townsend would vindicate what Purvey said, (which of course I never expected him to do, and which, as we see, he did not dare to attempt without tacitly falsifying it in such a way as completely to alter its meaning,) but whether in the genuine exercise of his office he would vindicate what Fox said about Purvey. With abundant scorn of the 'shavelings,' Purvey taught, not as Mr. Townsend says, 'that every Christian as well as the priests' might do this or that, but that *all* the predestinate were priests without man's working, and had a right to preach the gospel to their neighbours. Fox, whether he was or was not 'a decided episcopalian,' seems to have thought that this required some

modification, and, in direct contradiction to Purvey's plain statement, added a note—'He meaneth of *private* preaching to their neighbours.' Mr. Townsend improves upon this by telling his readers that Purvey *actually said* 'private,' and endeavours to gain the twofold advantage of representing me, first, as very foolish in thinking that a statement so innocent requires any vindication at all; and, secondly, as very unjust in requiring the vindication at his hands. I cannot help thinking that charges like this require something more than an off-hand statement. 'I have given a general vindication of Foxe against thirteen modern and ancient writers.'

In fact, this statement leads me to break through the order of Mr. Townsend's propositions, which I have hitherto followed. I need not say much on the fifth, as it is only a reply to my question respecting the eleven years spoken of by Mr. Townsend, of which I hope to make use hereafter; and what need be said now on that point will be easier and more intelligibly said if I for the present pass it by, and, in connexion with this statement of Mr. Townsend respecting his 'general' vindication, say something respecting his sixth proposition.

6. 'This,' says Mr. Townsend, 'I must give in Mr. Maitland's refined, courteous, and gentlemanly language:—'Rigmarole and personal reflections will not carry ignorance through when it is so incautious as to desert general propositions for matters of fact.' This is as nearly what I said as can be expected in a quotation by Mr. Townsend; and if it contains anything that is other than refined, courteous, and gentlemanly, I am sorry for it. I do not think it does. And as I have what I consider sufficient reasons for doubting whether Mr. Townsend is a good judge in such matters, especially when they have a particular reference to himself, I am not without hope that you may agree with me. Mr. Townsend is, however, evidently astonished, and exclaims, 'Rigmarole and ignorance! Rigmarole and ignorance! Rigmarole and ignorance! My gentle reader, have I not reason to admire Mr. Maitland's candour more than I admire his manners? Shall I not apply to him, with a little alteration, the words of Pope?—

‘ Go on, obliging writer, make me see
All that adorns thy pages meet in me ?’

Mr. Maitland, I have the honour to be your obedient and faithful humble servant.’

You will observe that Mr. Townsend here takes no notice of ‘personal reflection.’ Whether this is because he acknowledges that on that point I have said nothing wrong, or whether because he is ashamed to allude to the subject at all, I do not pretend to decide; but as he passes it by without attack, I suppose I need not consider it as requiring defence.

The two charges so shockingly made are of rigmarole and ignorance; and though I feel that I am trespassing on your pages, I cannot help requesting space for one or two remarks on them, because they relate, of course, not so much to what Mr. Townsend has written in this Magazine, as to the ‘general propositions’ and ‘general vindication’ to which he finds it so convenient to refer. It will be in your recollection that the remark originated in Mr. Townsend’s giving up at once the defence of Fox in a specific charge of unfair quotation from a Register, and throwing down the gauntlet in defence of some ‘two general propositions,’ I do not yet know what. In like manner, he here tells us that he has ‘given a general vindication’ of Fox. As this general vindication has not yet been examined, Mr. Townsend may, of course, refer to it in any terms which he thinks fit to use; but I venture to say, that whenever it is examined, it will be found most fully to bear out the charges of rigmarole and ignorance. You may suppose that I am not going to enter on a full defence of these charges here; but with reference to the first, suffer me to give an extract from the ‘Record’ newspaper, the organ of the party who projected and patronized the New Edition, and who, while enumerating ‘the merits of this edition’ in that newspaper, told us, ‘A Memoir, drawn from the *most authentic sources*, will be prefixed to the work, together with a dissertation upon the main principles and facts involved from the pen of Mr. Prebendary Townsend, *whose ability to do justice to the subject will not be*

questioned'. What does the 'Record' say now? or rather, what was it eager to say, in a leading article, so immediately after the publication of the volume, as Dec. 9, 1841—

'The subscribers for a new edition of that noble work, 'The Acts and Monuments,' by John Foxe, are at length gratified by the appearance of the first volume, which completes the set. The publishers are entitled to thanks for the readiness with which they undertook a task pressed upon them by several eminent clergymen and others, and the more so, because we regret to learn that the great expense they have incurred will not be remunerated by the price paid by the subscribers. They have rendered an essential service to the cause of truth by their undertaking, and if the new edition be not all that could be desired, its imperfections are not to be imputed to any parsimonious neglect or other failure of engagement on the part of Messrs. Seeley and Burnside.

But while we only do an act of justice in making this acknowledgment, *we cannot conceal our disappointment with the introductory matter* prefixed to the first volume by Mr. Prebendary Townsend. We had anticipated from his pen what he had promised, and what we presumed he was able to furnish, a preface, in which 'the pious martyrologist should be fully vindicated from the attacks of his assailants.'

Instead of this apology for John Foxe, the subscribers to the *Acts and Monuments* are presented with *an apology for the Rev. George Townsend's failure to redeem his pledge*, and no less than forty-two pages are consumed by a letter addressed to a friend, containing what we may term *the prospectus of a totally different work*, which is much more akin to an essay on the origin of evil, than to an introduction to the persecutions of the true church of Christ. In short, we are informed that the reverend gentleman was so far led astray from his original design, that he 'framed the plan, developed the details, and has actually written a large portion of a work,' which would *already 'fill ten numbers of the Quarterly Review.'* Under such circumstances, Mr. Townsend is clearly right in considering his incipient lucubrations as 'too large to be considered merely as a *preface* to Foxe;' and even without his own candid admission of the fact, we could have anticipated his acknowledgment—'The publishers of this book are not to be condemned—I alone am to be blamed.'

We venture, however, to think that Messrs. Seeley might have been exonerated from blame, without the infliction on the subscribers to Foxe of forty-two pages of *very doubtful and occasionally objectionable matter*. We still further venture to think, that the second part of the introduction to this edition, namely, its vindication 'from the attacks' of Foxe's 'assailants,' should not have been intrusted to an anonymous author, who, *either from want of experience or other causes, is not, at least on the present occasion, likely to wear*

'the laurel' which Mr. Townsend promises he shall not lose if it be won. We shall hereafter have occasion to notice his rash adoption of Mr. P. F. Tytler's attempt to rake up and present in a new form, the long exploded and false accusation against John Knox, of being accessory to the murder of Rizzio, an accusation so eagerly seized on by O'Connell, in the last session of parliament, as a weapon with which to assail protestants, but one which has been once more completely refuted by the son of Knox's biographer.

We cannot, at present, stop to discuss this part of the introduction to Foxe, and only allude to it as a specimen of the *rashness and incompetency of the unknown writer*, and in the hope that the publishers will, in justice to their subscribers, take care that the page containing this foul aspersion on the memory of a great and good protestant reformer, shall be among those which are to be cancelled. In the meantime we are obliged to *enter our protest against the letter itself, for which Mr. Townsend is directly responsible*. We have already said that it contains sentiments which call for animadversion, and the more so, as it seems to stand in connexion with the long list of subscribers, of whom we are persuaded that no small proportion will feel obliged by our pointing out that they are subscribers to the noble work of the great martyrologist, and not to the *letter* of Mr. Townsend, or the *preliminary dissertation* of his anonymous friend ⁴.

You will readily imagine, Sir, that I quote this statement of the 'Record' only as extorted testimony to a fact from the party who were Mr. Townsend's own sponsors—as the evidence of those who are likely to know most of Mr. Townsend's vindication, and who are under the greatest temptation to make the best of it,—and viewed in this light, it does seem to offer some corroboration of my charge that Mr. Townsend has somewhat indulged in 'rigmarole' ⁵.

⁴ It appeared by Mr. Townsend's reply that the 'Record' was under a misconception, as to his having entrusted any part of either the letter or the preliminary dissertation to another writer. 'I cannot,' he says, 'imagine what you mean when you say that I have intrusted the defence of Foxe to an anonymous author. I have written the whole of it myself.'

⁵ It may, perhaps, be injustice to Mr. Townsend to make even that use of it without adverting to the curious and characteristic fact, that while the previous certificate of Mr. Townsend's unquestionable ability to do justice to the subject is signed by three well-known and highly respected clergymen—Mr. Pratt, Mr. Bickersteth, and Mr. Bridges, the rebuke of Mr. Townsend, the utter repudiation of his performance, the delicate hint that 'Mr. Owen had

Secondly, as to ignorance. Is it compatible with refinement, courtesy, and gentlemanlike conduct to charge a man with ignorance? Ignorance is bliss, indeed, if it gives a man licence to rant forth whatever he pleases, to the amazement of the illiterate, without fear of check or contradiction. Is ignorance a thing so sacred? Or should I, when I see it boasting, bragging, and bullying, to the utter perversion of truth, creep to its feet and beg permission by some sweet periphrastic innuendo to insinuate its existence? I am sorry Mr. Townsend does not like my way of making a charge; but he cannot be more disgusted with my way than I am with his. For instance, in his 'Remarks' on one of what he calls my 'errors,' he says, 'Mr. Maitland's seventh error would be denominated by writers less gentle, mild, and bland than myself, by another epithet. Mr. Maitland has made a positive affirmation which is decidedly and most exceedingly erroneous.' Now, of course, he means to tell his readers that I have told a wilful lie; and so different are our notions, that what seems to him gentle, mild, and bland, appears to me to be a very mean and shabby way of doing it. I hope to shew, as soon as I can get leisure, that neither in this, nor the other 'errors' which Mr. Townsend pretends that he has found, have I told any lie, or made any erroneous statement; but our business at present is simply with the manner in which a charge of ignorance should be made, even supposing it to be lawful to make one at all; and even this would require more space than can be afforded in a letter already so long. You will, therefore, I hope, allow me to say that though I shall be happy to put it in any form which on full discussion shall be considered best, yet I cannot withdraw my charge of ignorance, and, as the most unobjectionable way of justifying it, I will give you an extract from the 'general vindication,' which will, I think, astonish some of your readers, and

some such schemes,' and at length the absolute dismissal of the vindicator, with a pithy certificate of his theological attainments for the 'Record' readers, that 'salvation and damnation are infinitely more than Mr. Townsend describes,' all this, and much more than this, in one long leading article after another, is *anonymous*.

which will lead them to suspect that 'the whole preface of five hundred pages' contains matter quite sufficient to shew that if the charge of ignorance is not gentlemanly, or bland, it has the more honest and respectable quality of being true.

Fox, in the course of a paragraph which treats 'Of the treason of the Pope against Frederic' the Emperor, gives a letter 'concerning the same.' In that letter the writer tells the emperor that John Brennus, late King of Jerusalem, having collected a great army, 'giveth unto them of the treasure he hath gotten together, (*by what means I cannot tell,*) great wages, in hope to recover and get from you the empire⁶.' When I looked for this letter in Matthew Paris, from whom Foxe professed to have taken it, I found the original to be 'sub spe imperii si vos possit subigere, *de thesauris apostolicis* suis militibus stipendia ministrat⁷.' On this I said—and if it seems that I treated so profound a subject with any improper degree of levity, I hope I shall be pardoned, for I can most truly assure you that I did not dream that any reader would be misled, or be in danger of it—it is certain that I did say, that one could only account for so strange a translation by supposing 'that Fox meant to speak what is in his parenthesis in his own person, and frankly to say that he did not know how to translate '*de thesauris apostolicis*.''

Now, Sir, I can imagine that you would not be surprised to find Mr. Townsend rebuking me for suggesting, even by way of jest, the bare possibility that Fox, who knew that he was writing about troops raised for the pope's purposes, could be ignorant that they were likely to be paid out of the *treasury* of the *apostolic* see, and that such must, of course, be the meaning of the words; but what will you say to the following criticism?

'Foxe is charged with being totally ignorant how to translate the words '*de thesauris apostolicis*,' from the apostolical treasures. So am I; so is Mr. Maitland; so, at least, is every one of the learned friends whom I have consulted.

⁶ New Edition, vol. ii. p. 472.

⁷ Matt. Par. an. 1249, vol. ii. p. 771, quoted in 5th letter in the British Mag.

The Latin is—Johannes præfatus, de regno Francorum, et aliis conterminis regionibus, militiam contrahens non modicam; sub spe imperii, si vos posset subigere, de thesauris apostolicis, suis militibus stipendia ministrat.

Foxe thus translates:—‘The aforesaid John Brennus, gathering out of France and other provinces near and adjoining, a great army, giveth unto them of the treasure he hath gotten together (*by what means I cannot tell*), great wages, in hope to recover from you the empire.’

‘Foxe, that is, affirms that he could not translate the expression ‘apostolicis thesauris;’ and I ask, what the apostolical treasures were? Had Brennus robbed churches? Had he plundered the treasuries of cathedrals, bishops, or clergy? Had he employed the priesthood to promise absolution for money, that the proceeds might be given to him? Mr. Maitland is right in his conjecture, that Foxe meant to say he could not translate the expression. His critic, it is observable, however, does not translate it himself, but passes on with the remark, that on this translation it is not worth while to comment⁸.’

I think it is ‘not worth while to comment’ on this criticism of Mr. Townsend and his ‘learned friends.’ Such ignorance cannot (as I have already intimated) be concealed under rigmarole about traitors and renegades, and papists and tractarians.

I should now recur to Mr. Townsend’s fifth proposition, but that I feel myself already trespassing on your pages, and it would take a good deal of room to shew that the reply which he has given to my question respecting the eleven years occupied in writing the Martyrology is a strong confirmation of my charge of ignorance. I hope to use it in a reply to his ‘Remarks,’ which want of leisure has hitherto prevented my publishing, except so

⁸ Life of Fox, p. 322. After what I have said of these wretched petty misrepresentations in this letter, I must not quote these words of Mr. Townsend’s without observing that I did not pass on ‘with the remark that on this translation it is not worth while to comment.’ How could I have said so when I was just showing that I did think it worth while to comment on it? My words were these, “On this translation, *in other respects*, it is not worth while to comment.”—Letters, p. 59. The obvious meaning of which was, that I was aware of other minor inaccuracies in the translation, and passed by them, not because I did not see them, but because in comparison with the glaring one for which the passage was quoted, they were not worth notice. I certainly did not dream that Mr. Townsend would want a translation.

far as concerns the points mentioned in the correspondence begun by Mr. Townsend in the 'John Bull' newspaper, and printed by you in the Number for March.

The seventh and eighth propositions are very amusing, especially the representation that I have claimed a right to use uncourteous language; but very harmless.

I am, dear Sir, y ours truly,

S. R. MAITLAND."

VIII.

MR. TOWNSEND'S LETTER, FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE FOR
MAY, 1842.

"SIR,—In your last number you have admitted a letter, consisting of nine pages, signed 'S. R. Maitland,' on Foxe's Martyrology. In this letter I meet such expressions as these:—

Mr. Townsend's manner of meeting this charge is—'*part of a system of habitual misrepresentation.*'—p. 418, line 12.

Mr. Townsend began this part of the controversy with—'*a mean attempt to excite personal odium, to injure private character, and to get up a rabble cry of party.*'—p. 418, line 21.

Mr. Townsend '*does not seem to recognise the dirty artifice, which he had thought it so clever to practise.*'—p. 419, note, line 9.

I feel myself utterly unable to contend any longer with such language. I withdraw from the contest. I leave Mr. Maitland uncontrolled master of the field, and congratulate him on his victory.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your faithful servant,

GEO. TOWNSEND."

PURITAN THAUMATURGY.

SECTION I.—PROPHECIES.

THE claim of the puritans to be considered as persons possessing supernatural gifts and powers, is a very curious feature in their history, and one on which we might justly have hoped that a new life of Fox would throw considerable light. I find however very little about it in Mr. Townsend's work; and that little, as will be seen presently, is calculated rather to prevent, than to promote, the investigation and right understanding of the subject.

The influence exercised over the puritans themselves, and which they exercised over others, even over such as had no religious feeling in common with them, is a point which deserves a much fuller investigation than it has ever received. But it would require more space than can be allowed for it on such an occasion as this, and more information than I possess. It is a subject on which one only catches occasional glimpses, just enough to show that there

was a great deal that was very curious going on, but which the parties concerned, partly from that sort of secrecy which commonly attends and gives a zest to sectarianism of all kinds, and partly because they had little or no motive or means for writing a history of their proceedings, kept pretty much to themselves. How strange it is that of more than twenty years which Fox appears to have spent in England, and chiefly in London, after the publication of his Martyrology, we know scarcely any thing. Of course a very moderate degree of industry would have added to the two grains of wheat which patience may discover in Mr. Townsend's bushel of chaff; but still it may well be doubted whether if he had possessed the qualifications necessary for the work which he undertook, Mr. Townsend could have penetrated and dispersed the obscurity which surrounds the personal history of Fox, and the proceedings of his friends and followers. I am not now pretending to do any such thing; but unless I say something to illustrate and justify what I have stated at p. 17, many persons will hardly believe it. They will think it strange, and almost incredible, that Fox's friends should have deliberately and seriously believed him to be endowed with supernatural gifts. Indeed, the faith and feeling of English Christians has so altered, that if there had not lately been (as I believe there still are) persons of respectable character openly making the same claims, and advancing the same pretensions for themselves and each other, I should

hardly expect to gain credit at all. Those who by the falsehoods and suppressions of party writers have been led into simple admiration of the Puritans, while at the same time they have made up their minds to disbelieve, at all hazards, every thing that looks supernatural, because the Romanists believe too much, will not perhaps like this comparison; but facts cannot be altered to meet their prejudices, and their only resource will be to confine themselves to such historians as Mr. Townsend, who seems to make the probable credulity of his readers his guide. Professing to be the biographer of Fox, he does not seem to think it his business to enquire, or to state, whether Fox, or his friends, held an opinion which was in itself very curious, and which must have had such an important influence on their proceedings, but is rather considering whether the thing would make for or against the subject of his biography. People will not, he imagines, believe that Fox was *really* inspired, and therefore it is better to say nothing, or as little as possible, about the matter. It will not tell favourably. It cannot be quite suppressed, but it must be slurred over. Surely one cannot but pity a biographer whom contending fears of being thought either sceptical or credulous, joined with a morbid anxiety to make his hero acceptable to "the present age," constrain to write such matter as the following:—

"A strange anecdote is related by his son, which the present age would call a singular coincidence, but which our ancestors

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would attribute to divine interposition. I am willing to believe any thing on sufficient evidence. The testimony on which this anecdote rests is the affirmation of Aylmer, afterwards bishop of London. 'He was accustomed,' says Mr. Samuel Foxe, 'in the presence of many living persons, to declare that he was present at a sermon, wherein Master Foxe, among many other things which he preached to comfort the banished English, did with confidence tell them, that now was the time come for their return to England, and that he brought them that news by commandment from God. For these words,' says his son, 'he was sharply reproved by the graver divines there present.' He was, however, excused afterwards by the event; for, by comparing dates, it was found that the queen died but the day preceding the prediction uttered by Foxe.

It is most probable that the martyrologist, on considering the cruelties in England—the depression of the protestant cause on the Continent—the promises of God that the pure truths of Christianity and the faith of the catholic church should never perish—had inferred, that the time had arrived when these promises would appear to be overthrown, unless some great deliverance had occurred; and he concluded that such deliverance could be only obtained by the death of the queen. The conclusion so rested on his mind, that it influenced his imagination, and became eventually the conviction of his reason, a portion of his faith, and the substance of a sermon. He expressed his belief in the form of a prophecy."—p. 120.

"Most probable,"—really it is the oddest account that I ever heard of the rise and progress of a sermon, and I hope that Mr. Townsend's own homilies do not turn up out of any such process—yet what else could lead any man to imagine such a theory? Fox, however, did not prophesy, but "he expressed his belief in the form of a prophecy:" this would be sad hair-splitting, even if it were quite free from more

important objection. But it is not merely what an old writer, whom I shall have occasion presently to quote, calls a “glozing blindation” of a story which Mr. Townsend does not venture to suppress, it is directly opposed to the very words of that story. Does not Mr. Townsend himself tell us that Fox did *not* say what he did, as an expression of belief, but distinctly told his hearers that “*he brought them that news BY COMMANDMENT FROM GOD.*” Could he have more decidedly assumed the prophetic office, or more plainly professed to be the subject of “a divine afflatus?” I cannot but express my astonishment at the boldness with which Mr. Townsend attempts to turn things (even things before people’s eyes) into what he wishes them to be. If he likes to throw the story overboard as a fiction, let him do so; but he has no right to falsify it.

The only other passage which I have observed in Mr. Townsend’s work, relating to this subject, is the following:—

“He devoted himself to these higher meditations, as one who had found in them an invaluable treasure. He bent his eyes and his mind on these alone, so stedfastly, that he both spoke and did many things beyond those of ordinary good men; so that many honoured him as one who seemed to speak to them by a superhuman power, and were willing to pay him honour which ought not to be given to the best of mortals. Some anecdotes are related by his son, which illustrate the power he was supposed to possess of predicting the future restoration to perfect health of some who were diseased, and believed themselves to be dying, and the consequent veneration in which he was held. The agree-

ment of the event, however, with the sanguine prediction of the best of men, would be considered only as a coincidence in the present day; when the attempt is being daily, though vainly, made to resolve even the well authenticated miracles of the Scripture into natural and common events. I purposely, therefore, omit all the circumstances to which I allude, knowing they will be deemed to be incredible, whether they be true or false." —p. 218¹.

Our question, however, is not whether these claims were true or false, but what they were in themselves, and in what way they were preferred; and therefore I will here give the account which Mr. Townsend omits. The Memoir-writer says:—

"I will neither mince the truth of any story, nor will I with additions flatter Report. Many things did Master Fox foretell, by occasion of comforting the afflicted, or terrifying those that were stubborn, to which the event proved after answerable, and (perchance) in many things he was deceived.

It hath been already related, with what constancy, whilst he remained at Basil among his banished Country-men, he signified the times of their return. It is likewise well known, what Answer he gave concerning that noble and vertuous Woman, the Lady Anne Hennage, who lying sick of a violent Feaver, when the Disease had so far increased, that the Physitians had pronounced it deadly, Master Fox was called to be present at her ending, whose counsel and fidelity she had often made use of, in matters appertaining to her Souls health. After he had performed what he came for, in reading Prayers, and comforting the sick

¹ I cannot quote these two passages without calling the reader's attention to the repeated mention of Fox's son as the author of the Memoir. Not merely to the fact, but to the manner. Is it that of a man who had ever indulged even a latent suspicion that the document quoted might be spurious?

Woman, with such perswasions as seemed good to him ; Well have you done (said he) and according to your duty, to prepare yourself for all events ; but know this from me, That of this sickness you shall not die. By chance, among those who stood by, was Sir Moyle Finch, a well known and honourable Knight, the Ladies Son in law, who either moved with so unusual a Speech, or desirous to get somewhat more out of him, as soon as Master Fox was a little withdrawn from the rest of the company, began seemingly to chide with him ; telling him, that he could not but marvel what his intent was, that contrary to the opinion of the Artists, he being an unskilful man, should presume to determine the end of the Disease, and by so doing bring the sick Woman, by condition of her Sex, wavering, yet hitherto undismayed, to an impatience of dying, by giving her this hope and expectation of life : if his Mother in law might be likely to live, that no man had more cause of joy than himself ; but if her death were indeed at hand, it befitted no man less to dissemble it, than he, who ought to provide for the good of her Soul : that he did therefore, for the friendship he bare him, much fear, lest, by that untimely word, he had lost a great part of the good opinion which men had formerly of his truth and modesty. To this Master Fox, *smiling*, made answer, That for his part he hindred not any man to think of him as he pleased ; but concerning the sick Lady, *it had seemed good unto God*, that she should recover of that Disease ; and that *he had said no more than was commanded him*. The Lady recovered : nor can I in this tell an untruth, there being many yet living, who could reprove me.

Like to this, and no less true was that story of Mistriss Honiwood, an honourable Gentlewoman who had almost twenty years lain sick of a Consumption through Melancholy, neither did any one seem to have advice or courage sufficient against the force of so mischievous a Disease, though she had already consulted with the gravest Divines, and the best Physitians and with all, who either in the art of curing, or power of perswading were accounted to excel the rest. At length she sent also for Mr.

Fox. They who went along with him thither related afterward, that never had they entred into a more heavy or afflicted house. There sate by the sick Woman to attend her, her Friends, Kinsfolk, Children and Servants, some upon Seats, and some on the Chamber-floor, not weeping or sighing, as those commonly do that lament, but having spent all their tears, resolutely silent, neither rising to those that came in, nor answering those who asked any question, as if that also became their mourning; you might have guest them so many statues of Mourners in humane likeness. The sick Woman lay upon her Bed, without any hope of life, together with her frequent sighs, faintly breathing forth some few words, the effect whereof was, That she desired to end her days. Master Fox when he had so many Patients under his hands at once, not thinking fit, where a grief so violent would make strong resistance, to attempt any thing in vain, lest, in not being by reason overcome, they might seem to have had reason on their sides, left all other means of consolation, and what he thought necessary to cure their afflicted minds, he diligently mingled with his Prayers; so that within a few days, they who were thought impossible, by mans help to be cured, did now seem of their own accord, to begin to recover. At length, having farther endeared himself, he then told her, That she should not only grow well of that Consumption, but also live to an exceeding great age. At which words the sick Gentlewoman a little moved, and earnestly beholding Master Fox: As well might you have said (quoth she) that if I should throw this Glass against the Wall, I might believe it would not break to pieces; and holding a Glass in her hand, out of which she had newly drunk, she threw it forth; neither did the Glass, first by chance lighting on a little Chest standing by the Bed-side, and afterward falling upon the ground, either break or crack in any place about it: And the event fell out accordingly. For the Gentlewoman, being then threescore years of age, lived afterward for all example of felicity, seldom seen in the Off-spring of any Family, being able, before the 90 year of her age, (for she lived longer) to reckon three

hundred and threescore of her Childrens² Children and Grand-children.

I could here relate many stories of like nature, but they, for the most part, being dead, who might justifie the Particulars, I will not intreat to be believed, where I cannot bring proof enough to deserve it. That which followeth is more commonly known, than that it should need to be confirmed by Witnesses.

Master Fox went one day, in duty, as his custom was, to see the Earl of Arundel, Son to the Duke of Norfolk, and Father to this Right Honourable Earl now living. The Earl, in his courtesie, when he was going away, brought him to the Water-side, at the lower end of his garden; but observing the River very rough by the suddain rising of the Winds, he counselled Master Fox not to trust himself in so boisterous a Tempest upon the Waters. But he continuing in his resolution of going; So my Lord (quoth he) let these waters deal with me, as I have in truth and sincerity delivered to you all that I have spoken: and with that entring into the Boat, before they could put off from the Bridge, the Wind ceased, and the River began to run with a smoother stream."

It would, as I have already said, be very fair for any one who could conscientiously do it, to treat all these stories as mere fables, and to deny that Fox ever did or said any such things as are ascribed to him; but it

² "Among which at this day, to wit, in the year of our Lord, 1641, in which this book is set forth, there liveth Mrs. Grace Hennage, the Daughter of the said Mistress Honiwood, a Gentlewoman of great worth and the Widow of an honourable Gentleman, Master Michael Hennage, who affirmeth, that she was present at the same time this was done, being a witness of more integrity, and more sincere than that her Testimony should without great wrong be doubted of."

is a fraud on the reader to suppress, or misstate, the fact of their having been so ascribed. It is indeed a fraud which a partial biographer of Fox, in the "present age" of "singular coincidences," and lucky hits, may be much tempted to commit, but one which, if he has any moderate acquaintance with Fox's own works, the age in which he lived, and the party to which he belonged, he must feel to be extremely liable to exposure.

Let us, instead of trying to bring Fox into exact conformity with the "present age," give a few minutes to the consideration of the general opinion on the subject in that age to which he belonged. I have elsewhere said, what I need not here repeat, of the degree in which the Lollards were influenced by prophecies³, and of the way in which those predictions were countenanced by Luther, and circulated at the time of the Reformation. I may here add that there probably never was a time when the public mind was more fully occupied with such things than during the reign of Elizabeth; and, in proof of this, I will give a few extracts from some of the writers of the period. The first of these is Francis Coxe, the author of a work, entitled "A short treatise, declaringe the detestable wickednesse of magicall sciences, as necromancie, conjurations of spirites, curiouse astrologie and such lyke;" which was, as we

³ British Magazine, July, 1842.

learn from the Colophon, "Imprinted at London at the long shop, next to S. Mildred's church in the Poultrye, by Iohn Alde ⁴."

"I thought it my part [having, as he has just before told us, "stode before her graces most honorable counsayll to receive determinate Sentence for my wicked offences,"] manifestly to declare and open the wickedness of those arts and sciences, which hath of late time, to the provocation of God's wrath and Almighty displeasure, ben had in such estimation, yea, rather veneration, that without it the whole state of men (except a few) would do in maner nothing, yea, it grew into such credit with men, that not only they judged the course of natural things thereby to be governed, but also that part which God hath and doth reserve to himself, and his determination, as the mind of man, and such like. Nay they ceased not here, but so blinded and bewitched the wits of men that scant durst they credit God himself, if it seemed that their blinded prophesies any time would make contradiction. How well this appeared in the year of our Lord God 1559 at what time our most noble sovereign began her imperial government and reign over us, all men may judge and easily perceive. For although it was well known unto all men, what love and godly zeal, her royal majesty had and did bear to the true prophets of God, his afflicted flock and word of the cross, yet did the people so waver, the whole realm was so troubled and so moved with the blind enigmatical and devilish prophesies of that heaven-gazer Nostradamus, in such sort, that even those which in their hearts could have wished the glory of God and his word most flourishing to be established, were brought into such an extreme coldness of faith, that they doubted God had forgotten his promise, yea, they hung so choysly between the heavenly

⁴ The edition from which I make this extract has no date; but it seems from Herbert's edition of Ames (II. 889), that an edition was published in 1561.

fountain of hope and the bottomless pit of utter desperation, that in doubt it was to which they would adhere or stick, so great was the infection of this pestilential poisoned lying prophesies."—p. 8.

He afterwards tells us ;—

"The people were grown unto such a folly, that scant would they ride or go any journey, unlesse they consulted either with these blind prophets, or at the least with their prophesies, which yearly to no little hurt, both in the faith of Christ, and wealth of the realm, were without all shame divulged."—p. 11.

The next writer has a peculiar claim to be quoted, not only because when he was between forty and fifty years of age, he compressed into a close-printed quarto the notes on this very subject, which he had been collecting ever since he was fifteen, and published them under the name of "A Defensative against the poyson of supposed prophesies ;" but because he was Fox's own pupil, being no less a person than Henry Howard, (or as he spelt it, I suppose to give his readers the right pronunciation, Howarde,) who afterwards became Earl of Northampton. The very fact of his having devoted so much time, and published so large a work, is sufficient evidence of his opinion on a point respecting which he was well able to judge ; and, from his pedantic far-rago of learned verbiage, I will at present give but one extract :—

"The most pestilent and bitter roote, from whence the prophesies have drawen their head, and received, as it were, their life and soule : is curiositie to search and hunt for deeper knowledge, of

the future causes and affairs of the common wealth, then it pleaseth God to discover and reveale by ordinarie meanes : As how long the Prince shall raigne ? Who shall succede and by what meane ? What houses shall recover or decaye ? Of what qualitie the prince shall be, with such like mysteries, and the reason why this fountain is more pestilent than any of the rest : is cheefely, because it perceth and approacheth neerer to the quicke of man's delight, in so much, as I my selfe have beene acquainted with some godly persons, and such as neyther doubted of God's sure defence, nor lent their eares to words of light report : which were notwithstanding, woonderfully rauished and bewitched with this intycing humour."—*Sig. E. 3.*

Henry Howard's work was published in the year 1583⁵; but the predictions which were abroad that

⁵ The full title is "A Defensatiue agaynst the poyson of supposed prophesies : not hitherto confuted by the penne of any man, which being grounded, eyther vppon the warrant and authority of olde paynted bookes, expositions of Dreames, Oracles, Revelations, Invocations of damned spirites, Judicialles of Astrologie, or any other kinde of pretended knowledge whatsoever, De futuris contingentibus : have been causes of great disorder in the common wealth, and cheefely among the simple and vnlearned people : very needefull to be published at this time, considering the late offence which grew by most palpable and grosse errors in Astrology."

The reader who wishes for more information respecting this book may find it in Strype's Annals under this year, Vol. III. Part i. p. 292, Oxford edition. I give the full title because it is not quite correctly given there. I am not aware that there was any pretence of editorial care in the Oxford reprint of Strype's Memorials and Annals ; and, therefore, perhaps one has no right to complain that his errors have been preserved, and his obscurities left to explain themselves. But it is most desirable that there should be a better edition.

something wonderful was to characterize the year 1588, gave rise to another book by John Harvey, published in that year, and dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord High Chancellor of England. It is entitled "A discursive probleme concerning prophesies, how far they are to be valued, or credited, according to the surest rules, and directions in Divinitie, Philosophie, Astrologie, and other learning: Devised especially in abatement of the terrible threatenings, and menaces, peremptorily denounced against the Kingdoms, and states of the world this present famous yeere, 1588. supposed the Great woonderfull, and fatall yeere of our age. By I. H. Physition." He tells us ;—

" I have made some little trial myself in some kinds of artificial experiments, but howsoever I have otherwhiles seemed favourably addicted to some mens philosophical and astronomical predictions (which of the two I esteem far more probable, and warrantable than these prophetical propositions, and heretical expositions :) I cannot yet perceive either any assured verity, or conjectural probability in any such old said sawes, as still pass, and repasse for currant in many mens, womens, and childrens mouths, not in one or two odd obscure corners but through many, and many famous places, and in a manner everywhere, upon the smallest occasion of every trifling occurrent, or accident, eftsoons buzzing, and dreaming of this, and that alteration, of such, and such innovation, of changes in religion, of subversion of states, of destruction, or desolation of principalities, Kingdoms and monarchies, of the universal confusion, and dissolution of the universal world."—p. 34.

" Myself have as well purposely as incidently run over many prophesies fathered upon Merlin, yea, more, I dare say, than ever that counterfet wrot, some in verse, othersome in prose ; some in

latin, othersome in english ; some written, some imprinted : some in common letters, othersome in newfound Alphabets, and mysticall characters ; whereof amongst many of the same stampe, behold one trim Hexameter relique which a certain unlearned empirical imposter first shewed me, anno 1580. for a very speciall deep secret, and profound mathematicall monument, as he supposed, being raggedly scrawled in od disguised maner of astrologicall characters, as insueth," &c.—p. 52.

"Alas what fond and vain expectation hath a long time rested in the minds not of one or two or a few, but of great multitudes of the simpler sort in England about King Edward the Sixt, as though they were sure either of his arising from death, or his return from I know not what Jerusalem, or other strange land : A mad conceit, yet whereupon grounded, but only upon the silly devises of such copesmates ? And what counterfet suborned marchants of base parentage, have sithence ranged abroad in the countrie presuming to terme themselves by the roiall name of King Edward ?"—p. 61.

"Why then, or to what end, or ends, have they breathed out so loude, boisterous, and troublefull blasts ? Why, but to terrifie, and afray the world, to skar simple folke, to bring men into a fooles paradise, to raise matter of common fearfulness, and dreadfulness : to finde idle heads, and busie braines occupied : to keepe the world in continuall awe, and to their appropriate purposes, in good quiet order : to breede doubts, and quandaries in other, that themselves might onely inioy the fuller, and deeper securitie. Hypocriticall and Pharisaicall ends, sophisticall purposes, speculative conceits, which either being mistaken, and misconstrued, or else too much credited and esteemed, how easily may they occasion, and ingender troublesome sturs, tumults, uprores, seditions, mutinies, garboiles, commotions, insurrections, rebellions, private myseries, common mischiefes, publique calamities, and desolations ? Such finall ends as commonly overthrow, and destroy the best established states, and at length bring most flourishing kingdomes, principalities, and commonwealthes to their finall

ends, even most woofull, most dolefull, and most horrible ends ; such in effect, and in conclusion, or rather in confusion, are the ends of such wretched, and wicked prophesies, the very prophe-sies of the diuell, to undoo, and destroy the world.”—p. 71.

The foregoing extracts are all taken from the “first part or section” of the work “discoursing in generall, of, and against, supposed prophesies, with all such pretended traditions.” At the beginning of “The second Part or Section: specially examining and discussing the speciall prophesie of this famous yeere 1588,” the writer says ;—

“I am now at the earnest and urgent request of certaine wor-shipfull gentlemen, and diuers other my familiar friends ; more specially and severally to labour, and examine one more speciall notorious prophesie, touching this long expected woonderfull yeere, 1588. A prophesie not so seldom as once or twice termed of the said gentlemen, the onely particularitie of particularities, and specialtie of specialties in this later propheticall kind.” p. 87.

And then having run over a list of

“fantasticall, vaine, and troublesome oracles, or prophesies ; and consequently of all other extraordinarie and irregular visions, fantasies, traunces, dreames, anabaptisticall revelations, Seraphical illuminations, metaphysicall extasies, enthusiasticall furies, ravish-ments, and excesses of spirit, fascinations, invocations, incantations, abjurations, exorcismes, suspensions, alligations, characters, seales, rings, pertacles, images, balmes, consecrations, periapts, amulets, sacrifices, suffumigations, purifications, lotteries, orizons, collects, ceremonies, and such like superstitious and diabolicall imple-ments, together with their semblable equivocations, amphibolo-gies, allegories, anagogies, hyperboles, mysteries, mystagogies,

metamorphoses, and other whatsoever spritish sophistrie, or hellish rhetorique ;”—

He goes on to say ;—

“But touching the substance, and circumstance of the peremptorie dsimall prophesie, of 88, as in phrase and stile it seemeth more directly simple, plaine, and sensible than the rest, and in fame surpasseth them all ; being *commonly handled, and canuassed even amongst the best, in most places of Europe* : so it is *universally* more feared, or at least suspected and doubted, than any of them, or than all they together, as being more credibly, or probably grounded upon some surer foundation of lawfull art, or profound science, or autentique experience, or I wot not what other ancient approbation ; and not to be deemed any idle fansie, vaine speculation, or forged invention : as some even of the learnedest sort have not only imaginatively presupposed, but also resolutely believed : insomuch, that thereupon they have nothing doubted to publish their censures, and like letters patents, or commendatorie testimonials, to commit the same unto the common view, and perusall of the world.”—p. 88.

I shall not, I hope, be understood as ascribing this state of things to the Puritans. I make these extracts merely to show that *it was* the state of things. There can be no doubt that every sect and faction had its share in promoting it, and was influenced by it⁶. The Puritans were ready to defend the

⁶ Of course those who made or used the current predictions had no security that some sharper wit might not turn their own weapons against them. Strype in his account of the “deliberation about suppression of abbeyes,” gives us one of the “writings preparatory” which he supposes to have been written by “Dr. Richard Cox, a very memorable man, afterward tutor to Prince Edward, Dean of Westminster, and lastly bishop of Ely,” in

Reformation on the grounds of Scripture and reason, but they were obviously delighted to believe and to tell how that Reformation had been predicted by a long line of prophets, without perhaps very minutely enquiring whether their predictions had derived any encouragement from existing circumstances, or had any influence in bringing about their own fulfilment. "Let us," says Fox, "return unto the martyrs, but before we do enter into that lamentable story, we do think it worth our labour, to show first certain pro-

which the writer says, with relation to a plan which he had just proposed ;—

"And this should seem to be the exalting and lifting up of the son of a noble mother, that is spoken of in a little writing that beginneth thus, *Consurget furor contra simplicem*, &c. which writing, though it be not of authority, yet I suppose verily that it is true. And in the latter end of the said writing it is said thus, *Filius inclytæ matris feliciter sublimabitur, et in manibus ejus potestas et gloria. In utraque insula fiet pax diebus ipsius et orrea* [horrea] *gleba implebuntur*. And those words may it seems be conveniently applied to Queen Elizabeth, mother to the king; and to the king himself; and also to londs and islonds.

"And first, that the said Queen Elizabeth [viz. King Henry VII his queen] was a noble mother, and a noble woman, it may appear thus. She was the right heir to the bloud royal of the Saxons," &c.—*Mem.* vol. i. Part i. p. 420.

The writer goes on with the application, which it is not necessary to quote; but it is worth while to add Strype's comment ;—

"The foresaid writing seems to have been some pretended prophecy spread about in these times, perhaps by some of the monks, ill willers to the king and his proceedings, which this writer converted to a more favourable interpretation on the king's part."

phesies of sundry men whereby so many great persecutions of the world were prefigured. And first to begin with *Joachim* the abbot there is also the prophesy of *Hildegard* (of whom we have spoken before) *Fluentius* *Gerardus* *Jerome Savonarola* *John of Rochetaylada* not that we have certainty thereof *Manfridus* a Dominic Friar *Arnoldus de Villanova* *Peter John Aquitane*.” And afterwards, he says, “And now coming to the time and story of Martin Luther, whom the Lord did ordain and appoint through his great mercy to be the principal organ and minister under him to reform and re-edify the desolate ruins of religion first before we enter into the tractation hereof, it shall not be impertinent to the purpose to infer such *prophecies and forewarnings* as were sent before of God by divers and sundry good men, long before the time of Luther, who *foretold and prophesied* the reformation of the church to come.” He then gives as much as half-a-dozen pages of the new edition, from which it is quite sufficient for our present purpose to extract what follows;—

“And first to begin with the prophecy of *John Huss* and *Jerome*, it is both notable, and also beforementioned, what the said John Huss, at the time of his burning, prophesied unto his enemies likewise to this may be adjoined the prophetic vision or dream, which chanced to the said John Huss also in his forty-eighth epistle he seemeth to have a like prophetic meaning and because we are here in hand with

the prophecies of John Huss it is not to be omitted what he writeth in a certain treatise [Then follows a story described in the margin as 'another prophecy by *John Hilton* monk of Thuringia'] long it were to induce here all the prophecies that be read in histories: certain I mind briefly to touch and pass over. And first to omit the revelations of *Briget* (whereunto I do not much attribute), who prophesying the destruction of Rome, saith but to these speculations of *Briget* I give no great respect, as neither do I to the predictions of *Katharine de Senis*. And yet notwithstanding *Antoninus*, writing of the same *Katharine* in his third part, reciteth her words thus (prophesying of the reformation of the church) of the authority of this prophetess I have not to affirm or adjudge but rather to hear what the catholic judges will say of their own saint and prophet [then come according to the margin] 'Prophecy of *Hierome Savonarola*' 'Prophecy of *Theodoric*' 'Prophecy of *Weselus*' 'Prophecy of the Popes head;' [that is of a vision that one *Nicholas* a hermit of Helvetia had respecting it] then follows a prophecy of 'a certain priest' testified by *Nicholas Medler*, a story of another told by '*Conrad Stifelius*,' another of 'one *Haggar* of London;' and after these, three portents; first that about A.D. 1500 the angel which stood on the castle of St. Angelo 'was thrown down with a terrible thunder into the river Tiber: whereby might seem to be declared the ruin and fall of the popedom;' secondly that at the creation of one and thirty cardinals, the church in which that ceremony took place was struck by lightning which 'removed the little child Jesus out of the lap of his mother, and the keys out of St. Peter's hand: which thing many did then interpret to signify and foreshow the subversion and alteration of the See of Rome;' thirdly a 'strange portent and a prodigious token from heaven' A.D. 1505, when there appeared on the vestures of men and women 'divers prints and tokens of the nails, of the sponge, of the spear, of the Lord's coat, and of bloody crosses,' &c. *By these and such like*

prophecies, it is evident to understand the time not to be far off, when God of his determinate providence was disposed to reform and to restore his church."—*Vol. IV. 253.*

In this view of things, and this practice of making what could be made out of the prophecies which were abroad, Fox was not singular. It is a very observable thing that his friend Bale appended to his life of Lord Cobham some prophecies of the Abbot Joachim, and that in another of his works he set forth a prophecy of Merlin in the following manner;—

"An olde prophecy of Merlyne
dysclosed

As I was in writing this matter an old prophecy of Merlin came vnto my remembrance That after the manifold irruptions of Strangers the Kings of this realm should be once again crowned with the diadem of Brute, and bear his ancient name, the new name of Strangers so vanishing away. He that applieth unto this a right understanding shall find it very true; The diadem of Brute is the princely power of this whole region, immediately given of God without any other mean mastery worker to Antichrists behove. Free was that power from the great whores dominion (which is the Rome church) till the violent conquest of the english Saxons, which they had of the Britons for their iniquities sake. And now (praise be unto that Lord) it is in good way to that freedom again, and would fully attain thereunto, were here heathenish yokes cast aside, as I doubt not but they will be within short space. As well may ye give credence to this Merlin when he uttereth the verity, as unto old Balaam the Soothsayer which at a time prophesied the coming of Christ *Num. xxiv.* And as concerning the return of the name, mark in this age the writings of learned men, and ye shall well perceive the change, for now commonly do they write us for Englishmen Brytaynes."—*Acts of English votaries. Part i. fol. 51.*

I do not know that Bale laid any claim to inspiration; but John Knox did it in the plainest and clearest manner in the preface to the sermon which he preached in the "church of Edenbrough" on the 19th Aug. 1565, "for which the said John Knoxe was inhibite preaching for a season." Explaining why he had written so little he says;—

"For considering myselfe rather cald of my God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorowfull, confirme the weake, and rebuke the proud by tong and liuelye voyce in these most corrupt dayes, thā to compose bokes for the age to come, seeing that so much is written (and that by men of most singuler cōdition) and yet so little well obserued: I decreed to containe myselfe within the bondes of that vocation, wherēvnto I founde myselfe especially called. I dare not denie (lest that in so doing I should be iniurious to the giuer) but that God hath reuealed vnto me secretes vnknownen to the worlde, and also that he hath made my tong a trumpet to forwarne realmes and nations, yea certain great personages, of mutations and chaunges, when no such thinges were feared, nor yet was appearing, a portion wherof cannot the world denie (be it neuer so blind) to be fulfilled, and the rest (alas) I feare shall followe with greater expedition and in more full perfection, than my sorowfull heart desireth. These reuelations and assurances notwithstanding, I did euer absteine to commit anye thing to writ, contented onely to haue obeyed the charge of him, who commaunded me to cry."—*Preface to the Reader*, p. 2. xxvii. 8. 21. 8vo.

We must also remember, that although the Puritans felt it right to rest their claim to be considered as the elect and true church of God, on the purity of their doctrine, yet they did not doubt that God still spake by the mouth of his prophets, and showed signs and wonders in his church. They believed that,

as that church, they had a right to expect, and thought that they saw, those signs following their faith. While they professed not to build on them, they delighted to observe and to point them out to others as clear and satisfactory attestations. This might be done even with a sort of modest disclaimer, as when Fox tells us that it was credibly testified by certain grave merchants that the presence of Tyndale at an entertainment prevented a juggler from performing his feats, "so that," he adds, "a man, even in the martyrs of these our days, cannot lack the miracles of true faith, *if miracles were now to be desired* ⁷."

I have pretty fully expressed my opinion that Samuel Fox did not write the Memoir of his father; but there is no doubt that he wrote his epitaph. If he did not mean something like what I have been endeavouring in this section to explain, will any body tell me what he did mean by the words "THAUMATURGO ADMIRABILI ⁸?" These two words speak volumes; and I trust that they will be further explained in the next Section.

⁷ Vol. V. p. 129.

⁸ Townsend's Life, p. 226.

SECTION II.

EXORCISM.

ANOTHER very curious chapter in the history of Puritanism is that which relates to Exorcism. It deserves a much fuller investigation than could be given to it in this place, even if I had sufficient information to do justice to the subject. But what I now wish to say, I cannot better introduce than by three extracts from Strype, which not only give us his view of the subject in general, but relate particularly to a case of which I shall have occasion to speak presently.

“The formidable strength of the disaffected party to episcopacy by this time was much abated, and the writers on that side became much more silent than before: notwithstanding some footsteps we find of them about this time. For when the open practices for settling the new discipline would not prevail, there was a more secret method made use of by some of their Ministers, of doing something that looked little less than miraculous, namely, the casting out devils from persons pretendedly possessed by them. That so the amazed multitude, having a great veneration for these exorcizers of devils by the power of their prayers

and fastings, might the more readily and awfully submit to their opinions and ways. Which likewise was a practice borrowed from the Papists, to make their Priests revered, and to confirm the laity in their superstitions. One of these was Darrel, B.A. a Minister of Nottingham : who at last, after many years' exercise of his frauds in and about that county, viz. in Lancashire and Derbyshire, was brought before the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and others of the ecclesiastical commission, (as we shall hear by and by,) being about the age of three and twenty or four and twenty, and then no Minister, he took upon him to cast out first one devil, and afterwards, upon repossession, eight devils more, out of a maid in Derbyshire, about seventeen years old, whose name was Katharine Wright. Of which himself writ the history, and gave a copy of it to the Lady Bowes. This was about the year 1586 : from which year till the 28th of March, 1596, Mr. Darrel, one now generally known, was out of work ; but in respect of what he had done grew very pert and proud, and in no small credit with the simpler sort. And now in this year he pretended to cast out a devil out of a boy in Burton, called Tho. Darling, then about the age of fourteen years. Of which also a book was written by one Rice, a saddler in the same town ; and contracted by one Mr. Denison, a Minister : which was seen and allowed by Darrel, and Mr. Hildersham, another Minister." — *Life of Whitgift, Vol. II.* p. 340.

The account of these possessions and exorcisms runs through more than six pages ; and it is not worth while either to extract or abridge it, for the part of it most to our purpose is what relates to the particular case of this Thomas Darling. I will therefore rather extract what Strype says of that person in his Annals :—

“ I have a few remarks to make here of two enthusiasts, or

rather cheats and deceivers : the one named Joh. Dayrel, or Darrel, bachelor of arts, soon after a minister, of the preciser sort, about three or four and twenty years of age ; who pretended to have cast out a devil out of one Katharine Wright, a young wench about seventeen, living in Darbyshire. And after, upon a return of the evil spirit into her, he cast out eight devils more, with which she was pretended to be possessed. A history whereof Darrel writ at large, and communicated some copies thereof to several persons ; and among the rest to the lady Bowes : hoping to get applause, and compass other ends thereby. We hear little more of him and of his feats, till nine or ten years after, about the year 1596. And out of a great many more pretendedly possessed persons Darrel cast out their devils : as out of a boy in Burton, called Tho. Darling, about fourteen years old. Whereof another book was penned by a saddler in that town, confederate, as it seems, with him : which book was revised and contracted by one Denison, a minister ; and then published in print ; and called, The book of the dispossession of the boy of Burton. This spread Darrel's fame throughout the country. So that afterwards he was sent for in Lancashire unto Mr. Starkie there ; in whose house where seven persons possessed with as many devils ; all which he cast out. Whereof one was called Anne Ashton : who after fell into the hands of certain seminary priests, (thinking how by her tricks she might be of service to them) and was carried by them up and down the country to sundry recusants' houses ; and by her cunning counterfeiting of certain fits, and staying herself for the secret directions of the said priests, she had her gains, and the priests gained great credit to them and their doctrine among the ignorant people."

" There was also one Sommers of Nottingham, a youth likewise, with whom this wonder-working man had much ado, by reason of his violent fits, to master the unclean spirit that acted him : but dispossessed he was at last. Many friends this impostor had, pretending to do all by prayer and fasting. In short he was at last summoned up to Lambeth, with one Moor another minister that held with him, before the archbishop and commis-

sioners ecclesiastical ; and found a gross impostor ; and committed both to close prison. A particular relation of all this was set forth afterwards in a book by Dr. S. Harsnet, who was chaplain to bishop Bancroft ; exposing the man and his cheats and impostures."—*Annals*, Vol. III. part i. p. 635.

To these extracts from Strype it is important to add a third, which relates to the first ;—

“ The great matter drove at in all this great pretended power of dispossessing devils from the bodies of men, and commanding those unclean spirits, was to serve the interest of the *new discipline* : as appears by what those concerned herein wrote in their books published to the world. Thus More, one that was as cunning as Darrel in dealing with Satan, saith ‘ That the faith of the church, established under pastors and teachers &c. shall bring forth this fruit, namely, to cast out Devils.’ And so Darrel in his book, called *An Apology*, intimated, writing, ‘ That the work of God prospered, to the great good of that town [Nottingham ;] for thereby the word of God grew mightily and prevailed.’ And shewing himself zealous for the platform, condemned himself for taking Orders before he had a call to a flock ;” &c. *Life of Whitgift*, p. 346.

I have copied the statements of Strype principally for the general view of the matter which they give ; as to the particular case of Darrel, I hope to revert to it ; but I will first request the reader’s attention to two other cases, by which it, and the subject in general, may be considerably illustrated.

The first is a case of possession which I find described in a tract, of which the following is the title :

“ ¶ The Copy of a letter describing the wonderful woorke of

God in delyvering a mayden within the city of Chester from an horrible kind of torment and sickness, 16 of February 1564."

The preface is as follows:—

"¶ To his very friend Maister J. D. After my harty salutations letting al other matters passe, these chiefly are to signifye unto you: That here of late hath hapned a wonderful cure of a mayd within this citye, wrought by God's power in his faithful minister and preacher of Jesus Christ, Mayster Lane to the advancement of God's Glory, and to the great marveiling of all those inhabiting in these partes. And least the same should be misreported, or the wicked suffered to wrest things to abuse Gods preachers, and for that the thyng is so rare and notable that it shoulde not be kept from the posteritye, I have therefore sent you the whole true discourse thereof described with the hand of Sir William Calverley Knight Richard Harleston Esqr, and mine own. I could have had every man here to have done the lyke but considering we have had good profe the one with the other, I thought this shall suffice, praying you to put the same in print. From the city of Chester the xv. of March 1564.

Your friend

I. F."

It appears that the writer was John Fisher, and it seems not unlikely that the J. D. to whom the letter was addressed was John Day. The story is simply that the young woman was apparently (I say this because I do not find in the tract any thing to decide whether her disorder was real or pretended) tormented by very strong convulsions, during which she used to raise herself in her bed with great violence. After some more common methods had been tried, "it chaunced that Mayster John Lane, late fellow of Christs College in the University of Cambridge, and

now a famous and godly preacher of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, within the diocese of Chester," was in those parts, and being applied to, undertook the work of exorcism. In addition to such measures as might have been expected, he seems to have adopted, and principally relied on, that of keeping her down by main force, which was not accomplished without great difficulty. It was done however, and, we are told:—

"At the last Maister Lane called for viniger, whereat the standers by marueiled, saying that the thing, with much more, had been oftentimes attempted, but to no purpose. Notwithstanding he ceased not to call still for it, saying, that God might do that then which he did not before, and so received viniger, put it into his mouth, and blew it into the maydens nostrels, whereat she cried 'a Lady, Lady.' He then willed her to cal upon God, and the bloud of Christ, and in these doings she being astonied, he called again for more viniger. Whereat she cried 'No, No, no more for Gods sake.' Then Maister Lane willed her to speake and say after him; and so he and all then present said the Lord's Prayer, and Te Deum, she saying after them. After this her deliverance" &c.

And so it seems she was cured; though, I confess, I do not very clearly see how; but I quote the case principally because the subsequent proceedings in it strikingly illustrate the view which Strype has taken of the subject generally. We are told;

"My Lady Calverley with divers other credible persons wer present during such time as Mayster Lane was with the mayden and eye witnesses to these his doings. The next day following Mayster Lane preached at Saynt Maries within the

sayde Citye before John Throgmarton Esquier, the Quenes Maiesties High Justice in the Countye of Chester at which sermon the late recovered maiden was present.

Upon this so wonderful a cure great talk was had in eche company within the city, that thereupon the mayden was not onelye brought vnto the said Justice, and Maister Lane afterwarde upon earnest request of som of his friends halfe constrayned, dyd write his whole doinges therein : but also Maister Rogers Archdeacon of Chester, in his Sermon made in the Cathedrall Church of Chester the iiii of this instant March before the Maior of the Citye, the Bishops of Chester and of Saynt Assaphats, with a great multitude of the citizens besides having occasion offered by the wordes of the then present gospel touched this fact : Alledging that whatsoever was the original cause of so great and strange a disease, yet was the cure wonderful, and wrought by God, either to the great commodity, or else for the great plague, of the city of Chester and the country adjoyning."

The next case is more directly to our purpose, and I cannot introduce it better than by an extract from Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker.

"In the month of August following, the Archbishop discovered a great cheat in a maid that pretended herself to be possessed with a spirit : and that so artificially, that divers devout Ministers were deluded by her ; and wrote books giving accounts of her : whereby the people became the more imposed upon by this counterfeit. This was a business therefore which the Archbishop and ecclesiastical Commissioners thought fit to have brought before them. But so well did our Prelate sift and try the wench by himself, for want of other Commissioners, that he found out the cheat. And after he had by divers examinations tried out the falsehood, he required Sir Rowland Hayward, and Mr. Recorder of the City, to be assistant with him, who heard the wench examined and confessed, and saw her play her pranks before them. They had present her father and mother ; by which mother this

weneh was counselled and supported : and yet she would not confess any thing. Whose stubbornness they considering, sent her to close prison at Westminster gate ; where she remained, until her daughter, and another maid of Lothbury, had openly done their penance at Paul's Cross, as was ordered. The lying relations of this illusion had been very earnestly believed, and printed, and set forth ; and by print recorded and spread without licence. The two printers thereof, with others that sold those pamphlets, were committed to prison ; and the Archbishop was disposed to commit some of the principal witnesses to prison too, to stop them hereafter from abusing the Queen's Majesty's people so boldly, falsely, and impudently. And he intended moreover to set out a confutation of the same imposture. All this he thought fit the Court should know ; and therefore sent this account thereof to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, desiring, as he said, that in those things wherein he was a doer, his Lordship might understand a truth by his own report, rather than by the uncertain speech of the Court. The tragedy was so large, he told him, that he might spend much time to trouble him withal ; but chose to send him a copy of the vain book printed, and a copy also of the confessions of these cheats at length. That which made the Archbishop so diligent in the discovery of this delusion was, because in those times there were not a few that falsely pretended possession : for so he told the Treasurer, that he was so grieved with such dissemblers, that he could not be quiet with himself.

Both these maids, the one about twenty years old, named Agnes Bridges, and the other but eleven or twelve, named Rachel Pindar, did their penances at Paul's Cross : where first their several examinations and confessions were openly read by the preacher ; and after, they did themselves acknowledge their counterfeiting, and required forgiveness of God and the world, and the people to pray for them. The whole matter was afterwards thought fit to be published in print."—*Strype's Life of Parker*, Vol. II. p. 372.

Some extracts from this publication may be inter-

esting, and their bearing on our subject will be obvious. The first, from the preface, contains some hard hits at "certaine persons," which I do not pretend to explain.

"Of which causes there is matter ynugh concerning divers persons, who have been workers in this dissimulation, however it is otherways bolstred out by some certeine persons, which for the mainenance of their owne estimation, woulde delude God's good people, and the Quenes Maiesties subjectes, with manifest untruth. Therefore to spare the names of some persons that are faultie in this matter, shall be done more of charitie towards the persons (if they wyl secretly repent) then to seeke any revenge of such by publishyng their deservings. Notwithstanding if any evil disposed persons, will yet after this declaration seem to be contentious, and speak more then becometh them they shall be answered more fully. And for that suche pamphlettes of Rachel Pynder be already spread abroad, not able to be called in again, This therefore is published to countervaile the same in the hearts of Gods people, wherein shall be truly set out some part of the speeches of this maid Rachel Pindar and also her confession of that hypocrisie whereof she seemeth to be very sorry and repentant: with confession also of Agnes Brigges: which both of them on Sunday the xv day of August 1574 did acknowledge their counterfeitings at Paules Crosse, with repentant behaviour, and their examinations and confessions openly there read by the preacher."

After the preface follows what appears to be a copy of an attestation, signed by the family of the maid and others who were present during her pretended possession, and were either the dupes or the partners of her fraud.

“ The very copie in wordes and orthographie subscribed by their handes.

The xvi of July 1574.

“ William Long spake thes woordes folowyng. I command the Sathane in the blode of Ihesus Christe, speake and tell me wherfor camest thou heayther? And sathane spake, but we cowlld not understand what he sayde, but he made a mowmlyng. But after he sayde, O Jone, Jone, leatt Jone alone. Then William Turner spake, and sayde, I command the sathane in the blowd of Iesus Christ, speak out, that al this peopell may heare the. Then he said he colld not speake. Then William Turner, and William long, said he leayd, and commanded him in the blowd of Iesus Christ, and by his meyghtey powre for to specke lowdoure. Then we al upō our knees lyfted vp our hartes vnto almighteye God, and mad owr prayers altogether, as our saviour Ihesus Christe haith taught vs in the sixt of Mathewes Gospel. Then we commanded him in the blowde of Jesus Christ to tell vs whom seant hym heyther. He sayd olld Jone. Wherefore did she send the heayther? For her body and soulle. We sayde, thow shalt not have it, Jesus Christ hath brought it with his preasseyos blowd. Then he sayd, thow leayest, dyuers tymes. Then William Turner said Jesus Christ saythe in his holy gospel, that saythan was a leayer from the beginning, and therefore I beleaue Jesus Christ, I wyll not belieaue the, thow art a leayer. then Saythan sayd, she haith sinned against the holy gost, and herr sinnes weare before hur fayse, and he wolld haue hur. Then we said he showlld not haue hur, Jesus Christe haith bowght hur with his preasseyows blowd, and through faythe in the same, hath forgeyuen hur hur sinnes, and thow shalt not haue hur. Then saythane sayd he wolld haue us all. Then we sayd thou shalt haue none of vs. Then Saythan sayde Al the worlde is myne. Heare me, heare me: Dyd not I take Christe from the crosse? Thē we said thow art a leayer from the begynnyng, how darest thou be so bowllde to leaye in the presence of the Lord Jesus? Then we commanded him in the blowd of Iesus Christ, and in the meyghtey

power of his kyngdome, to tel vs what is they name. Saythan sayde, I cowld not tell. We sayd, thou leayest, thou shalt tell vs, and he sayde vnto vs diuers times, thou leyaest. Then we commanded hym In the blowd of Ihesus Christ, and by his meyghtey powre, tell vs what they name is, and defrawd the teyme no longer. Then he said lelygion, lelygion, diuers tymes. Then we asked hym how maney ther was in numbar. saythan sayd 5000 lelygons. Then we commanded hym In the blowd of Ihesus Christ, and by his meyghtey powre, come out of the Saruant of Ihesus Christ, and bey and bye withowt hurtyng of anything. Then saythan sayde he wold tare vs all in pesses. Then we defeyed hym, and sayd, the lord god shal defend us. Then Saythan said how can you cast out 5 thowsand legyons of deallues. Then we commanded sathane In the blowd of Christ, and by his meyghtey powre to come out, and do no hurt. Then he sayd, geue me somewhat. Then we sayd, thou shalt haue nothing Sathan. Then sathan sayd, I wyll not go. Then we sayd, thou shalt goo to the etternall pytt of heall, which is prepared for the before the creaseyone of the world. Then sathan sayd he wold tare hur in pesses, and did torment hur presently. And Sathan sayde he wolld bryng 3. deathes, one for hur, and one for Uemphre⁹ *whom FOXE had beged at gods hand*, and one for the mayde In lothberre, and *I will tare FOXE In peasses*. Then sathen creyed O deathe, deathe verre terrabelleye. Then we all to geather mayed our prayers for hur and theam, that the Lorde God wolld release hur. And when we had endid owr praiers to God for hur, we commanded Sathan by the meyghtey powre and blowd of Jesus, to departe out of hur bey and bye without aney more wordes. Then Saythan sayd, you haue not written ytt. Then John Boush sayd, saruant vnto William Long, yf we haue not writtine ytt, the Lord God hath writtine ytt in owr hartes. Then we commanded sathan with al owr myght and poore, that God had geuen vs, that thow shalte depart out of the

⁹ I suppose Fox's friend, Laurence Humphrey, then Dean of Gloucester.

saruant of Ihesus Christ. Then Sathan sayd, gyve me a cherre and I will go. And we sayd, thou shalt have nothinge. Then we commandid sathan In the name of Ihesus Christe to depart without hurtinge of aney thyng, and sathan sayde, gyue me an appell. We sayd, thow shalt haue nothinge. Then we commanded sathan for to depart. Then sathan sayd, gyue me a thred band. We sayd thow shalt have nothinge. Then we commandid sathane to depart. He said gyue me a lyttle hare. We sayd, thow shalt have nothinge. Then sathan sayd, shall I have nothinge? I had of olld Jone a drop of blowd to com heayther, and shall I depart awaye with nothinge. Then sathane sayd, wage your fynger, and I will depart. Then we sayd to sathan, we wil not, thow shalt not haue so muche. Then sathan sayd, gyue me the paring of your nalle. Then we sayd, thou shalt not haue so much to laye to owr charge att the day of Judgment. Then sathan Sayd, say but I praye yowe, and I will go. Then we sayd, we will not pray the, but we will commande the blowd of Ihesus Christ, and by his meyghtey pore to depart bey and beye with owt hurtinge of aney thinge. Then Sayd sathan, I wil tarre fowre skore yeare and teane, yf you will gyue me nothinge. Then we mad aprayer to the almeightey god with earnest hartes, crauinge ayd and comfort att his almeightey handes for hur comfort and deliuerie. Then we commandid sathane in the blowd of Jesus to depart. Thē sathan creyed with a lowd voyse, and perfet speach that al meight heare, Heare me, heare me diverse tymes afore we wold gyue eare to him. Then saythan said to vs in al owr hearring, leat me tarre tyll to morrow that my ladey comes, and I wil tel you more of my mynd. Then we sayd unto hym, thou shalt not tarre for nothinge, and so commandid sathane steyll by the meytey pore and kyngdome of Ihesus Christe, to depart out of hur, and so he departed.

By me willam longe

By me Willam turner

By me John bowshe

By me william longe

By me william Turner

By miich Ian bous aom bour

man

By me william pyndar

Be me william pendar

father of the chylde

By me peter pyndar

By me peter pindar

By me rose harris

☉☿ marke

By me kattarne osborne

By me elsabeth long, the

☉☿ marke

wiffe of william long

By me Jane turner the

wife of william turner

By me marget barkers

By me kattarne chawke

By me elsabeth pyndar

mother of the chyld

By me Annes pyndar, the

wyfe of peter pyndar

By me sarah dauars

*By me Sarah Dauers*¹

By me susan pendar

By me marreyane reave

“ William Longe asked Sathane who commandyd the heyther, In the name of Jesus Christ, I command the tel vs. Sathan answered, Old Jone, Old Jone. Which Jone, said maister Debate: He answerred Jone Thornton, dwellyng upon the Keay. After what sort did she command it to goe? Sathane answerred, she sayde the Patter noster .3. tymes, and then I dyd come. Then sayd William Edwardes, thou leyst: sathan answerred, na. maister long said then 4. teymes, and sathane sayd .5. teymes, William Longe sayd .6. teymes, and sathane said .7. tymes, and maister Long said .8. teymes, sathane sayd .9. teymes, and maister Longe sayd .10. teymes, sathane said .11. teymes, and then maister Long sayd, than sathan thou leyst. And Sathan beinge

¹ These names are printed as nearly as may be as they are in the tract, except only that there those in the left column are (like the body of the work) printed in black letter, while those which are here printed in *italics*, are there distinguished by Roman type. I presume that the left column is a list of the persons present; and that those who chose to do so wrote their names opposite. I doubt whether the word which I print “bour” after the name of “Ian bous,” is right.

asked what was his name, he answered, Arke, Arke. And being asked of whō she learned ytt, of Dennon: and wher dyd Dennon lerne yt the? In the uppermost rowme of Thornstons hows. How long ago? three yeares. What dyd she geue the sathane? One drope of her blowd. Wher haddest thou it sathan? On the fore fynger on the In seyde of hur left hand. Wher dyd she kepe that, that she worked beye? In hur bossome next to hur skin. What is it sathane? sometyme like a doge, and sometyme like a tode. And then William Long charged him In the blowd of Jesus Christ to depart Into the bottomles pette of hell. Sathane answerred what wilt thou gyue me? He sayd, nothing: and I charge the depart, and neuer enter aney more. And sathane answerred, he woulde. Then sayd the sayd Longe, In token thou wilt come no more heare, blowe owte the candall, but he blewe not owt the candall, but said, gyue me a thred: and immediatly the childe rose up, and helld vp hur hands, and said, he is gone, he will come no more. The manner of the voyse owt of the childe, the lyppes moued with non suche mouing as coulde pronounce the words vttered, the eyledes moued, but not oppen, she had greate swellinge in hur throte, and abowte the gawes, and the voyse was somewhat bygger then the childs voyse, being commandyd In y^e name of Jesus Christ to speke lowddor, the voyse thē spak lowddor, that al might hear.

*I George Allen hearde al
that is on this syde written*

Thes done in the presence of

By me gorge allyne

By me william edwards

By me will. longe

By me william longe

By me will turner

By me william Turner

Be me william Pendar

By me Sarah Dauars.

Immediately after these documents, follows,

“ The Examination and
confession of &c.

Agnes Brigges daughter to William Brigges of London, Clotheworker, examined saith, that she hath ben afflicted ever sith Lent

last past. And the first tyme that shee fel into any traunce, was about mydsomer laste. And she sayth that vpon Munday next shal be sixe weekes, shee was at maister FOXE his house the preacher, where at that tyme came in one maistres Pinder, dwelling at Galley Key, and a mayde chylde of her owne with her, about xi yeere olde. And there the said maistres Pinder demaūded of this examinant, how she was troubled. And she aunswered, that shee was much troubled in mind. And shee, this examinant, sayth that the sayd Pinders wyfe then declared unto the sayd maister FOXE, and others there present, that her daughter had benne possessed of a deuyll, and sayde, that when shee had any traunce she woulde swell, and heave with her body marueylously, and that she dyd auoyde at her mouth, in her traunces, heare, a blacke silke threede, and a feather, whiche this examinant hearing determined to practise the lyke," &c.

She then proceeds to state the particulars, and to express her sorrow for her sin. Underneath the confession is this notice:—

“¶ Examined by me Robert Hogeson, by the commaundemente of Sir John Ryuers Knyght, Lorde Mayor of London, in the presence of me James Style, Minister and person of Saint Margarettes in Lothbery, of John Taylour, and John Kent Mercer.”

Then follows the examination and confession of Rachel Pinder, which contains no reference to Fox, and is not worth copying. It is thus attested:—

“ All this she confessed and avouched before the most Reverend Father Mathewe L. Archbyshop of Canturburie, Sir Rowlande Haywarde Knight, Alderman of the Citie of London and William Fletewode Esquire, Recorder of the same citie, and

others, the xi day of August, in the yeare of our Lord M.D.LXXIIII. And of the Reigne of our Soueraigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth, the xvi."

Let us now revert to the case of Darrel; and as he cuts a poor figure in the extracts from Strype with which I began this section, it is perhaps only an act of justice to state that he replied to his accuser in a worke entitled "A detection of that sinful, shamful, lying and ridiculous discours of Samuel Harsnet," &c.; but it is not to our purpose to enter into the dispute, and I really do not know enough of its merits to give any opinion whether Darrel was an impostor or an enthusiast. That the boy was a deceiver seems scarcely to admit of any doubt. I have not seen any book, the title of which exactly answers Strype's description, "The book of the dispossession of the boy of Burton," though among the curious volumes under my care there are several works relating to this Darrel, and his performances; and two copies of one, which I should think to have been the original account of the matter, and the book meant by Strype, are now before me. They are intituled, "The most wonderfull and true story of a certaine witch named Alse Gooderige of Stapenhill, who was arraigned and convicted at Darbie at the assizes there. As also a true report of the strange torments of Thomas Darling a boy of thirteene years of age, that was possessed by the Deuill, with his horrible fittes and terrible Apparitions by him uttered at Burton upon Trent in the county of

Stafford and of his marvellous deliverance. Printed at London for I. O. 1597." The preface is signed I. D., and it states that the work had been "compiled by a private christian and man of trade;" which agrees with Strype's account, and renders it still more probable that it is the book to which he referred, though he may have seen it quoted by the shorter description which he gives.

Be this as it may, it is certain that the book gives an account of the fits of Thomas Darling and of the language which he used when he was in them, and saw, or pretended to see, the "terrible apparitions" mentioned in the title page. A considerable part of the book consists of a species of dialogue; for we are told that in his fits "he could neither conceale what he said, or what Sathan saide to him," p. 14, and the principal drift of the conversation, repeated as having taken place between them at these various times, is that the tempter appeared to him offering him a succession of earthly baits and bribes, in the hope of obtaining some act of worship. I had read but little of this matter when it occurred to me that I had certainly met with something very like it before, and had read an older case of exorcism, in which the possessed person used language remarkably similar. Indeed, so much so, that I could hardly doubt that Darling's case was studied from the other, or else that both cases had been framed on some common original. Of this, however, the reader shall judge. I will first give some extracts from Darling's

talk, and place beside them some corresponding extracts from the older case, premising only with regard to the latter, that in singular conformity with the case of Darling we are told that "some of his [the possessed person's] speeches are directed to God, some to Christ, some to the devil, without naming the one or the other, and some speeches are not his own, but repetitions of the voices that spake unto him." The account further instructs us that where marks which may be thus represented || || || || occur in the MS.², we are to understand that the speaker paused. "We appointed," says the author of the account, "amongst us a scribe to pen verbatim out of his mouth whatever he spake during the time of his visitation."—p. 8.

Darling.

"Presently he awaked, and read, and was interrupted by a trance, wherein a voyce said 'Teare the booke, teare the book : ' and with that (although his eyes were closed) he snatched at the booke (which one had in his hand) and tare forth one leaf of it : which thing also from that time till two of the clocke he attempted in everie of his fits."—p. 36.

"Wouldst thou have mee teare the booke? I will not

The older case.

"Wilt thou so, wilt thou so indeed, wilt thou tear me if I will not tear the sermon which is the godliest sermon that ever was made. Tear me if thou canst, I give thee liberty, but thou canst not except thou have leave || || I will never tear that Sermon."—p. 18.

² Harl. 590. I am not aware that it has ever been printed.

teare it doe what thou canst :
wilt thou teare him in pieces
that continueth reading
Sathan thou canst not touch
him," &c.—p. 41.

"Wouldst thou have me
teare the book? Avoyde Sa-
than I will not tear it."—p. 42.

"What offerest thou me a
bag of money if I will worship
thee? Avoyde Sathan; I will
none of thy money, the Lord
in heaven hath money enough
in store for me."—p. 14.

"Wouldst thou give me a
bag full of gold and silver, if
I will never read nor pray unto
God anie more. Avoid Sathan
I neither regard thy gold nor
silver; the Lord and his word
is better to mee than all the
gold and silver in the world."—
p. 40.

"What faire woman is this,
that is so gorgeously appa-
railed? Dost thou say thou
wilt give her mee if I will

"Away I pray thee away,
I will look upon never a bag,
for I will have never a penny
of it it would be too dear
bought."—p. 18.

"I tell thee I will not have
it, it would be too dearly
bought, it is too much for me,
what should I do with thy
ship. Where hadst thou so
much gold?"—p. 24.

"Dost thou ask me whether
it be a fair one by my troth I
must confess she is a goodly
creature, but where haddest thou

worship thee? Avoyd Sathan
I neither care for her nor thee.”
p. 40.

her I pray thee. If she did
know what evil shape thou
haddest under that yellow
locks she would not go so
familiarly hand in hand with
you as she doth || || Gentle-
woman, go from him, for he will
deceive you || || will you go
from him if I will have you?
Nay go not from him upon
that condition; for I will not
have you, I am too poor for
your estate || || will you for-
sake so great a prince for me,
and for my love? Alas loving
worme || || What cannot you
marry because he is kin to you?
|| || Are you cousin german to
him? then I can assure you that
you are kin to the Devil || ||
Are you not? yes that you
are || || Is he not the Devil but
the God of fortune,” &c. p. 36.

I think one cannot doubt that Thomas Darling
had, either through Mr. Darrel, or in some other
way, become acquainted with the older case, or else
with some common original. Which way it was
matters not. All that I desire the reader to observe
is, that they are evidently of one school, and I ima-
gine that we may with perfect truth and propriety
transfer the remarks which Strype makes on Dar-
ling's case, to this other. There is another point of
similarity between this older case and one of Darrel's

which may be merely accidental, but which is worth noticing. Strype says that Darrel made copies of it, and sent one to Lady Bowes. To what Lady the account of the older case to which I have referred was sent, I know not, but it begins "Good Madam, to satisfy your Ladyship's request, I have sent you the copy," &c.

The account of the older case to which I refer, is a manuscript of 58 large quarto pages, and the title is, I believe, partly in the hand of Strype, to whom I presume it formerly belonged. The original endorsement seems to have been simply "Mr. Briggs's temptation;" and to this is added (I believe by Strype) "with whom Mr. Fox prayed and commanded the Devil to depart from him." I have said that I suppose this to be Strype's addition; but whoever made it has interlined it between that original endorsement and the words "Justice Hales," which appear to be in the same hand and ink as the original endorsement, which differs much in both particulars from Strype's addition. Why that name is placed there I do not know. The MS. opens with a brief account of Mr. Briggs, by which it appears that he was a lawyer and "a zealous favourer of the Gospel;" and that "this man a little before Christmas, in the year 1573, was oft at lectures made by Mr. Lassilers [i. e. Ladislaus or Lancelot] Villers intreating of sin against the Holy Ghost," p. 6. He seems to have been afterwards subject to fits of insensibility, in which he lost (or seemed to have

lost) the power of sight and hearing and sometimes also of speech. At other times when only deaf and blind, he uttered much matter of one sort or another of which I have already given a specimen.

It is, however, more particularly to our purpose to notice those parts which relate to Fox, who was the exorcist in this case; and therefore I will give them in the order in which they occur. The first mention of him which I have observed is in the following passage;—

“ ‘Lord I defy that thought with all my heart. I will never consent unto it. Raise them up O Lord that fall, comfort and help the weak-hearted, and comfort, and assist them that stand’
|| || And then smiling he said, ‘Alas! Alas! good Foxe, poor innocent man, now by my troth, I dare swear upon the testament, that he will not so much as look over the street upon a harlot || || Indeed I must confess with thee I have been proud; so was Manasses, and yet he was forgiven; and so I trust shall I || || Is he not saved? marry thou liest he is saved || || Did I reject the Bible? thou liest in that for Mr. Bull can bear me witness that I did kiss it || || Jesus bless him and me. Scriptum est non occides, and wouldest thou have me kill him? Kill him that is the pillar of this land, and worthy to have that he hath? Jesus bless him and govern and direct all his way as may be to thy glory, to his comfort, and the profit of his country || || No faith I will not; and there is one hath made such a hedge about him that thou never by any means shalt be able to hurt him; no, not once to touch him.’ ” P. 10.

I do not undertake to say who is meant by “the pillar of this land;” but I quote the passage at length that the reader may judge for himself, taking it with the extracts which are to follow. The next is;—

“ ‘Faith is dead, but I would have faith, and a growing faith delighteth the Lord best.’ He wept and said ‘As good Fox said, ‘I have none but I would have faith, and remorse of my sins’ || || Mr. Fox come to see me no more? He will come, he will come to me again in despite of thy heart. Jesus pugna pro me.’ Then he did sing these psalms following,” &c. p. 15.

The next mention of Fox occurs in the following passage, which throws light on one already given;—

“ Bewitched me ! Hang thee Sir Devil, I think he hath pierced the heavens for me with his prayers. Alas ! poor JOHN, alas ! he is not able to kill a mouse || || Indeed thou hast cause to hate him for he hateth thee again || || Yea but there is one that hath made a hedge about him ; thou canst not touch his little toe || || A hypocrite ! I Lord Jesu what next. O ! thou liest falsely || || He is good true servant || || Wilt thou have us both ? take us when thou canst get us, as Paul said to the Corinthians. Now God confound thee thou wicked fiend. Lord rebuke him || || Yea, yea, thou hast told me so oft, but thou never keepest promise || || Did I say he was a Devil ? thou liest falsely. Indeed, this I said, he was a devil of devils : And it was not I neither that spoke it, but Mr. Fox, and I did assent unto it, for as thou by his sufferance art a devil to torment others, so God is a devil to thee for that he is able and doth torment and punish thee and conquer thee, and thereunto I did assent, and we neither of us are afraid of it, for it was spoken in good pretence. Adieu to the devil quoth to nia lynne³.’ ” P. 19.

Again ;—

“ ‘Indeed Fox said so ; and it is true. Thou art very busy

³ So it stands in the original, of which I have not in general taken the trouble to preserve the spelling. I suppose it must be some line of an old song about “ Tony O’Linn.”

with him. I cannot blame thee for he setteth thee forth in thy colours. Now farewell and be hanged.' And then he sang 'O most gracious God, most sure to trust;' and 'O Lord of whom I do depend;' and so was restored to his former sense again." P. 26.

The narrative proceeds to state that the next day—

"Sunday, being the 18 April, this gentleman lost his sense; but he was not that day by his former enemy troubled at all. At which time he presently told the company that the Devil was then attending his charge at Pauls Cross among the cut purses, and other false apostles, and had no leisure to visit him." P. 26.

On the Tuesday following, being at a friend's in the Temple he was troubled by the devil's suggesting that evil thoughts sever a man from God—that he had evil thoughts—and therefore he was thus severed; and in proof of this referring him to the first chapter of Proverbs. He went home and looked at the passage, and then being "very desirous to be resolved thereof," he "went to Mr. Fox a divine very learned, and a godly man who expounded it unto him and being thoroughly satisfied in conscience by him herein he went with the [corner of the page torn off. I presume "said] Mr. Fox to visit one Stiphen-son a Londoner." P. 26.

On Thursday the 22nd of April, he was "by the devil tempted and apposed in the Lord's prayer," p. 28, but there was nothing about Mr. Fox. On the Saturday however, after he had been lying without sense nineteen hours,

“Mr. Fox of whom you have heard before, came unto him who finding in the chamber at that time seven of the temple wherein five were counsellors of good credit, the same Mr. Fox first with godly persuasions exhorted them all to God, saying that if any amongst them did bear hatred that he should frankly forgive it as he hoped to be forgiven of God or else depart the chamber. Who being answered that they frankly forgave all the whole world, he said unto them ‘And do you also repent you of your former sins, and intend by Gods grace to amend your lives?’ Who being answered ‘Yea,’ he said ‘Let us whyne⁴ together in prayer.’ These gentlemen kneeling upon their knees, himself standing upon his feet, begun with a most vehement voice, harty spirit, in this sort ‘O ! thou most wretched serpent, who by the sufferance of Almighty God hast taken from this creature the use of his tongue that he cannot with his lips glorify Him,’ and then lifting up his hands, ‘O Lord Most Highest we most humbly desire thee that thou command the devil by our mouths to depart. I say again, O thou foul devil, I command thee to depart in the name of Christ Jesus.’ And as he was pronouncing ‘Jesus’ the dumb man cried out, ‘Christ Jesus, magnified and blessed be thy name,’ at whose name the devil seizeth the molested creature, ‘blessed and glorified be thy name by the prayer of thy penitent servants, and by thy pronouncing of thy most glorious name Jesus the devil departed.’ Then he himself prayed to God and gave his most hearty thanks ; the other gentlemen having likewise rendered their most humble thanks. The same Mr. Fox, likewise ‘As God hath heard the prayers of his poor penitent sinners, thereby hath he showed his [illegible] power in giving his creature and our brother the use of his tongue to the strengthening and increasing of our faith, so undoubtedly he will hear our humble prayers ;’ and so he began ‘O Thou most glorious God and mighty Prince, who at

⁴ This word is quite plain ; but a pen like Strype’s has written over it “ioyne,” which may perhaps be the word mistaken by the transcriber.

the meek request of these thy poor sinners hast given the use of his tongue to this thy servant by commanding that wicked serpent to depart from him, so we most meekly beseech thee to command his foul spirit to depart from ever molesting this our brother; that he receiving of his sight may see thy wonderful works and glorify thee; and therefore thou most devouring lion I command thee in the name of Christ Jesus that thou avoid. And Thou Lord, if it shall so please thee the rather at our humble request, grant unto this thy servant for Jesus Christs sake the use of his eyes.' At the pronouncing of which word 'eyes,' even at that instant, his eyes sprang wide open as dark and dim to behold as horn or wainscot, and by and by, at the sudden, sparks of light flashed in them and he saw the same moment. Which miraculous act the company did evidently see and behold to their great astonishment. Whereas before he had never received his sight but with most extreme pain, ache, and pricking, and the same enduring by the space of half an hour always at the least. Where-with the gentleman molested said 'Glory praise, and power be unto thee O Christ by whose power the dumb receive their speech, the deaf their hearing, and the blind their sight.' After which time he never was restored to the use of his senses lost but only by prayer." P. 31.

On a subsequent occasion ;—

[Those] "in the chamber joined in prayer that he might receive his sight, and so said a prayer which was left there for purpose by Mr. Fox, wherein after many requests made to the end aforesaid by the pronouncing of these words 'O Lord Jesus who hast promised that whensoever two or three shall be gathered together in thy name thou wilt grant their requests, fulfil now O Lord this our humble request that this thy servant and our brother may receive again the use of his eyes;' and therewith suddenly at that instant his eyes waxed clear so as he perfectly received his sight and glorified God the Father Almighty."—p. 36.

I do not know whether this Mr. Briggs was any

relation of the Ann Briggs, whose confession has just been given; but it seems impossible to doubt that, like her, he was a deceiver. I need hardly say that I have no idea of charging Fox with any kind of participation in the imposture, or any connexion with such frauds, except as the dupe of those who abused his credulity, employed his industry, and availed themselves of his character to work their own ends. This, too, is the real secret of his martyrology, the true apology for it, and, in fact, the only thing that can account for such a compilation being so made at all, and so received by his contemporaries—something like it is, perhaps, necessary to account for the treatment which it has more recently met with at the hands of some of its professed admirers.

END OF PART II.

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